

CRYING IN THE MIDDLE AGES

Tears of History



Edited by
Elina Gertsman

ROUTLEDGE

Crying in the Middle Ages

Routledge Studies in Medieval Religion and Culture

EDITED BY GEORGE FERZOCO, *University of Leicester*

CAROLYN MUESSIG, *University of Bristol*

1 Gender and Holiness

Men, Women and Saints in Late
Medieval Europe

*Edited by Samantha J E Riches
and Sarah Salih*

10 Crying in the Middle Ages

Tears of History

Edited by Elina Gertsman

2 The Invention of Saintliness

Edited by Anneke B. Mulder-Bakker

3 Tolkien the Medievalist

Edited by Jane Chance

4 Julian of Norwich

Visionary or Mystic?

Kevin J. McGill

5 Disability in Medieval Europe

Thinking About Physical
Impairment in the High Middle
Ages, c.1100–c.1400

Irina Metzler

**6 Envisaging Heaven in the
Middle Ages**

Carolyn Muessig and Ad Putter

**7 Misconceptions About the
Middle Ages**

*Edited by Stephen J. Harris and
Bryon L. Grigsby*

**8 Medieval Monstrosity and the
Female Body**

Sarah Alison Miller

**9 Representations of Eve in
Antiquity and the English
Middle Ages**

John Flood

Crying in the Middle Ages

Tears of History

Edited by Elina Gertsman

First published 2012
by Routledge
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Simultaneously published in the UK
by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

*Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa
business*

© 2012 Taylor & Francis

The right of Elina Gertsman to be identified as the author of the editorial material, and of the authors for their individual chapters, has been asserted in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

Typeset in Sabon by IBT Global.

Printed and bound in the United States of America on acid-free paper by IBT Global.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Trademark Notice: Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

A catalog record has been requested for this book.

ISBN13: 978-0-415-88985-8 (hbk)

ISBN13: 978-0-203-80775-0 (ebk)

Contents

<i>List of Figures</i>	vii
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	ix

INTRODUCTION	
“Going They Went and Wept”: Tears in Medieval Discourse	xi
ELINA GERTSMAN	

PROLEGOMENON	
Considerations of Weeping and Sincerity in the Middle Ages	xxi
LYN A. BLANCHFIELD	

PART I

Tears and Image

1	Women Mourners in Byzantine Art, Literature, and Society	3
	HENRY MAGUIRE	
2	The Eve Fragment from Autun and the Emotionalism of Pilgrimage	16
	MARIAN BLEEKE	
3	Weeping Women: Social Roles and Images in Fourteenth-Century Tuscany	35
	JUDITH STEINHOFF	
4	The Paradoxical Rhetoric of Tears: Looking at the Madrid <i>Descent from the Cross</i>	53
	FELIX THÜRLEMANN	

PART II

Tears and Religious Experience

- 5 A Penitent Prepares: Affect, Contrition, and Tears 79
CHRISTOPHER SWIFT
- 6 “He Cried and Made Others Cry”: Crying as a Sign of Pietistic
Authenticity or Deception in Medieval Islamic Preaching 102
LINDA G. JONES
- 7 *Si puose calcina a’ propi occhi*: The Importance of the
Gift of Tears for Thirteenth-Century Religious Women
and their Hagiographers 136
KIMBERLEY-JOY KNIGHT
- 8 Weeping as Discourse between Heaven and Earth:
The Transformative Power of Tears in Medieval
Jewish Literature 156
RACHEL S. MIKVA

PART III

Tears and Narrative

- 9 The Shedding of Tears in Late Anglo-Saxon England 175
TRACEY-ANNE COOPER
- 10 Tears and Trial: Weeping as Forensic Evidence in *Piers Plowman* 193
KATHERINE K. O’SULLIVAN
- 11 A Sorrowful Song: On Tears in Chrétien de Troyes’s *Philomena* 208
IRIT RUTH KLEIMAN
- 12 Crying in Public and in Private: Tears and Crying in
Medieval German Literature 230
ALBRECHT CLASSEN

CODA

Transmitting Despair by Manuscript and Print 249

BARBARA H. ROSENWEIN

- Bibliography* 267
Contributors 301
Index 305

Figures

0.1	Geertgen tot sint Jans, <i>Man of Sorrows</i> , second half of the fifteenth century.	xiv
1.1	Istanbul, Kariye Camii, mosaic. <i>Wedding at Cana</i> .	4
1.2	Ohrid, St. Clement, fresco. <i>The Lamentation</i> .	4
1.3	Ohrid, St. Clement, fresco. <i>The Lamentation</i> , detail of the Virgin.	5
1.4	Asinou, Church of the Panagia Phorbiotissa, fresco. <i>The Raising of Lazarus</i> .	7
1.5	Vatican Library, ms. gr. 1754, fol. 6r. <i>Penitent Monks</i> .	9
1.6	Vatican Library, ms. gr. 747, fol. 71v. <i>The Burial of Jacob</i> .	10
1.7	Gračanica, Church of the Koimesis, fresco. <i>The Lamentation</i> .	11
1.8	Sopoćani, Church of the Trinity, fresco. Detail of mourners from the <i>Koimesis</i> .	12
2.1	Lintel fragment representing Eve from St-Lazare, Autun.	17
2.2	Reconstruction of the St. Lazarus shrine showing locations of sculptures.	19
2.3	Plan of the church of St-Lazare showing location of the Eve sculpture and Lazarus shrine.	20
2.4	St. Mary Magdalene sculpture from the interior of the St. Lazarus shrine.	22
2.5	St. Martha sculpture from the interior of the St. Lazarus shrine.	23
3.1	Giottino, <i>The Lamentation over Christ</i> (ca. 1357–1359). From the Church of San Remigio, Florence.	36
3.2	Taddeo Gaddi, <i>The Entombment of Christ with Monna Tessa dei Bardi</i> (ca. 1340).	43
3.3	Donors (detail of Figure 3.1), Giottino, <i>Lamentation</i> .	44
3.4	Church of San Remigio, Florence (interior).	45
4.1	<i>Descent from the Cross</i> , ca. 1430. Madrid, Prado (originally: Leuven, Church of Our Lady Outside the Walls).	55
4.2	Nicodemus: portrait of the donor (detail of Figure 4.1 , <i>Descent from the Cross</i>).	59

- 4.3 Robert Campin, *Triptych with the Entombment*
(triptych Seilern), ca. 1415. 60
- 4.4 Mourning angel (detail of [Figure 4.3](#), *Triptych with
the Entombment*). 61
- 4.5 Robert Campin, *The Bearing of the Body of Christ to the
Tomb* (preliminary drawing for the center panel of a lost
altarpiece), ca. 1425. 63
- 4.6 Christ's and Mary's hands (detail of [Figure 4.1](#), *Descent
from the Cross*). 65
- 4.7 Polyptych of the *Descent from the Cross*, originally:
Leuven, Church of Our Lady Outside the Walls
(reconstruction F.T.)—center panel: Madrid, Prado;
wings: Frankfurt am Main, Städel Museum. 67
- 4.8 Maria lactans (detail); Frankfurt am Main, Städel Museum. 68
- 4.9 Dead Christ (detail of [Figure 4.1](#), *Descent from the Cross*). 69

Acknowledgments

The idea for this book emerged from the *Crying: Image, Word, Spectator, Reader* session I organized at the 44th International Congress on Medieval Studies at Kalamazoo. Although the resultant volume bears very little resemblance to the original session, I nonetheless wish to acknowledge audience members who asked astute and probing questions that in many ways informed the structure of this book. I am grateful to Carolyn Muesig and George Ferzoco for inviting me to edit the book for their series, and to the Routledge staff for facilitating a smooth publication process. A generous grant from the W. P. Jones Development Fund at Case Western Reserve University assured that the book was published in the best format possible. My research assistants Julie Schutte and Samantha Cataldo helped streamline the notes and bibliography under tight deadlines. Many thanks to my contributors who submitted phenomenal material and were patient and gracious with my exacting (some may say dictatorial) editing; to Bruce Holsinger who suggested the subtitle for the book; to Museum Catharijneconvent for supplying the image for the book cover *gratis*; and to Suzanne Yeager, Christopher Swift, and Rachel Burke who patiently listened to my ceaseless ruminations on the subject of tears and weeping during our brief sojourn at the Folger. To Barbara H. Rosenwein, who has inspired me to pursue my interest in medieval emotion, gesture, and representation, I am eternally grateful.

Introduction

“Going They Went and Wept”

Tears in Medieval Discourse*

Elina Gertsman

For at the very moment they veil sight, tears would unveil what is proper to the eye. And what they cause to surge up out of forgetfulness, there, where the gaze or look looks after it, keeps it in reserve, would be nothing less than *alētheia*, the *truth* of the eyes, whose ultimate destination they would thereby reveal: to have imploration rather than vision in sight, to address prayer, love, joy, or sadness rather than a look or gaze.

Jacques Derrida, *Memoirs of the Blind*¹

Some think that the word for tears, *lacrima*, comes from the phrase, *laceratio mentis*, “rending of the mind.”

Aberdeen Bestiary (Aberdeen Univ. Lib. MS 24), fols. 83v–84r

Christ’s primary relics left after his ascension are few—the foreskin, the milk teeth, the blood, bits of nails and hair—and the most ephemeral among them is a tear shed at the death of Lazarus.² While several French churches claimed to possess the tear in the Middle Ages, the shrine at Vendôme, at the Benedictine Abbey La Trinité, was the most effective in promoting the cult of *la Sainte Larme*. The now-lost relic was nestled like a Russian doll within four boxes of varying sizes, its transparency caught and refracted by a crystal rock encasement. So displayed, the tear stood as a reminder of Christ’s humanity—not just of his compassionate nature, but also of his human body, which exuded material fluids.

Tears were considered to be a powerful and efficacious liquid: they could cure ills and release souls from purgatory; they pointed to holiness and identified falsity; they were seen as an excess of humors and as signs of sanctity; they were shed in affective devotion and spiritual imitation of holy figures; they were companions to visionary experience and agents that obscured vision. From Tertullian to Thomas à Kempis, tears were seen as an instrument of discipline, and as *donum lacrimarum*—a gift to God and from God. This gift of tears was precious: weeping, in certain contexts, was seen to stamp a mark of merit and distinction upon

the one who was crying. Sacred and profane, public and private, emotive and ritualistic, internal and embodied, medieval weeping served as a culturally charged prism for a host of social, visual, cognitive, and linguistic performances. In an attempt to taxonomize their ontological multiplicity, an anonymous twelfth-century homily used the text of Psalm 126:6—"Going they went and wept, casting their seeds. But coming they shall come with joyfulness, carrying their sheaves"—to classify four kinds of tears: tears that are like the salt water of compunction (*lacrimae compunctionis*); tears that are like the snow water of regret on behalf of others (*lacrimae compassionis*); tears that are like the well water of worldly contempt (*lacrimae contemplationis*); and tears that are like the dew water of longing for heaven (*lacrimae peregrinationis*).³ The sermon alerts us to the rich world of medieval tears, while suggesting that weeping was open to a variety of interpretations and as such was understood as an intrinsically ambiguous act.

The tensions inherent in the very concept of weeping become readily apparent in medieval sources that elide the theosocial and the biological potency of tears. For example, conflating devotional and therapeutic discourses in one heady mixture, Henry of Grosmont, in his *Le livre de seyntz medicines* (*The Book of Holy Medicines*, ca. 1354), offered a recipe for a miraculous ointment, distilled from Christ's blood and Mary's tears into the spiritual equivalent of rosewater that cleanses wounds and thereby heals body and soul.⁴ Like the Vendôme relic, the concoction feminizes Christ—not only because his blood is compared and equated with his mother's tears, but also because bodily moisture was believed to be a humoral characteristic of women, who were considered by Galen and his adherents to be cold and wet.⁵ Here, "femininity's material wetness," writes Louise M. Bishop, "joins the characterological and sensual components of passions and emotions, tied together in a material body/soul complex."⁶ Conversely, weeping functions as a definitive site of difference in a commentary in Pseudo-Albertus Magnus's *Women's Secrets* (late thirteenth century), which suggests that "women cry a great deal because they have much humidity that their body must expel," and that the function of "femininity's material wetness" is multifold: weeping is indicative of women's ignorance, for dampness coarsens the women's brains and hinders their ability to learn; it points to their excessive wickedness, for it is by way of abundant tears that "evil humors leave the body through the eyes"; and it facilitates conception, because excess moisture in the womb—if not poured out through tears—inhibits a woman from conceiving.⁷ Both the generative rhetoric of *Women's Secrets* and the transgendering discourse of *Le livre de seyntz medicines* are already apparent in Pseudo-Origen's thirteenth-century *Homelia de Maria Magdalena*, according to which the repentant sinner's weeping allowed her to be the first to see the resurrected Christ and to beget the Savior in her womb.⁸ Here, Magdalene's tears—inasmuch as they reference the Virgin's tears at

the foot of the cross, which pour out as she gives birth to the Church and to humanity—are seen as an agent of procreation, setting in motion the reverse gendering of bodily liquids, and acting, as Katharine Goodland points out, as semen.⁹

At times suspect and at times exalted, tears issuing from female bodies were never inconsequential, invariably rife with meaning. Copious weeping, for example, becomes a central trope in the lives of female mystics such as Marie d'Oignies, whose tears proved to be her sustenance: "Night and day, they are my bread. They do not impair my head but rather feed my mind. They do not torment me with pain but, on the contrary, they rejoice my soul with a kind of serenity. . . . They are not violently wrenched out but are freely given by the lord."¹⁰ But crying was not solely the prerogative of women: St. Bernard invoked the power of tears to call upon Christ to restore the dead to life; and St. Francis wept while meditating on the Passion, emphatically declaring: "I will not be ashamed to wander around the whole world and weep for them [Christ's sufferings]."¹¹ For Francis, lachrymose behavior exteriorized fervent devotion, not unusual for Franciscan religious sensibility, as verbalized, for instance, in thirteenth-century treatises such as *Stimulus Amoris*, adapted in English as *The Prickyng of Love*, which includes the following stirring passage: "You see the crown of thorns upon his head and the sharp spear that stung him to the heart, and if in this spiritual vision you feel your heart stirred to such great compassion and pity of your Lord Jesus that you identify in his suffering in tears and weeping with every fiber of your being . . . then you will find yourself in amazement at the goodness, love, patience, and meekness . . . of your Lord Jesus."¹²

Just as weeping made piety visible, so did images visualize theology through the introduction of tears. Because the very nature of visual representation raises questions about the value and uses of ocular experiences, which include both crying and seeing, images provided a fertile site for the generation of uncertainties inherent in medieval conceptions of weeping. In 1508, in the city of Berne, a carved image of the Virgin of the Lamentation spoke and wept.¹³ Eventually, the miraculous statue was shown to be a fraud—varnish was smeared underneath Mary's eyes in order to produce a distinct effect of crying—but the authenticity of the tears was doubted because the Virgin, which stood in a Dominican church, pontificated against the Franciscans at the time of a vicious rivalry between the two orders, and not because of the miracle *per se*: medieval images have been long known to pour forth different liquids, including milk, blood, water, tears, and oil. Indeed, in rigging up the sculpture, the Dominicans drew on the popular belief that images do come to life and weep to prove a variety of doctrinal points, to portend terrible events—as did the eleventh-century sculpture of Christ that wept for days at an Orléans monastery and thus foretold the fire that ravaged the village—and to provide a model for proper behavior.¹⁴ The latter is

especially evident in a tenth-century account written by a monk of St. Gall, who witnessed an image of the crucified Christ crying during the reading of the Mass when the Passion was intensely described. In fact, so ebullient was the crying that streams formed on the ground below the image.¹⁵ In inviting people to cry along with him, the sculpted Christ offered an early exemplar for emotive devotion, which found expression in late medieval images that participated in complex networks of affectivity, establishing a dialogic relationship with pious exercises.¹⁶ So, the weeping protagonists of Geertgen tot Sint Jans's *Man of Sorrows* (after 1486) appear both to invite and to model empathetic behavior for the viewers, whose own tears would simultaneously obfuscate the image and illuminate their religious experience (Figure 0.1).¹⁷

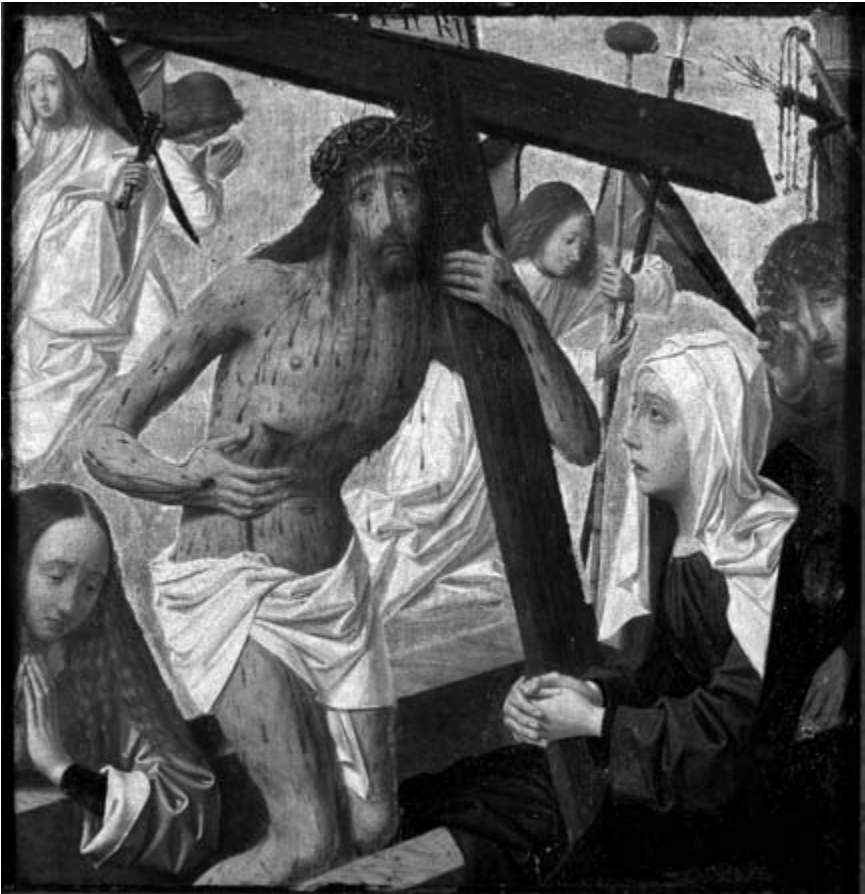


Figure 0.1 Geertgen tot sint Jans, *Man of Sorrows*, second half of the fifteenth century. Photo: Museum Catharijneconvent, Utrecht.

Geertgen's image is awash in tears: they pour down the Virgin's face; they gather on Magdalene's cheeks; St. John, unable to stop their flood, wipes his face with the back of his hand; and Christ himself weeps blood. Indeed, in his seminal study of fifteenth-century Flemish painting, "The Crying Face," Moshe Barasch suggests that the sanctity of the represented figures could be measured in tears, pointing out, nonetheless, that "attitudes to, and interpretations of, weeping in the Middle Ages are not self-evident, and that they allow for a variety of readings."¹⁸ A pursuit of this variety of readings stands at the heart of the present volume, which is fueled by a resurgence of interest in the history of emotions and gesture.¹⁹ Predicated on the premise of interdisciplinary research, this book gathers together essays that consider the role of weeping in medieval (Jewish, Christian, and Islamic) visual, theological, and literary discourses, and explore it in relation to viewership, gender, piety, language, and reception.

Because the book embraces so many different theories and approaches to weeping, I felt it necessary to commission a separate chapter that would offer a broad look at the way tears have been theorized, both in medieval sources and in recent scholarship on medieval emotion and gesture. Lyn Blanchfield's brief essay does just that by using the question of interconnections between sincerity and tears as a case study—a question that comes up time and again in the following chapters. Inasmuch as it interrogates the nature of the available evidence and explores current methodological approaches to the study of medieval weeping, Blanchfield's essay serves as a prolegomenon to the volume. In turn, each individual chapter, with varying degrees of detail, includes a brief historiographic section that addresses methodological questions specific to the author's area of inquiry, be it romance literature in France, panel painting in Italy, or homiletic texts in Iberia.

The first part of the book is written by four art historians. Circumscribed within a single field of inquiry, it is meant to suggest to the reader various ways of reading visual imagery across geographical and temporal expanses. Henry Maguire discusses complex relationships between social rituals of mourning in Byzantium and representations of lamentation, suggesting a shift in patterns of viewing. Similarly concerned with the connections between images and audience behaviors, Marian Bleeke posits a dialogue between the emotionalism of the sculpted Romanesque ensemble at the church of St.-Lazare in Autun (France) and the viewing practices of the pilgrims—and especially female pilgrims—who came to worship at Lazarus's shrine. The examination of women's social roles, this time through the lens of fourteenth-century public images of grieving and weeping from Trecento, Italy, is also the focus of Judith Steinhoff's piece. The first three essays thus spotlight female viewers, while asking questions about the connection between visual imagery and the experience of beholding. Subsequently, Felix Thürlemann's essay explicitly turns to the reception possibilities of such an experience, exploring the meaning of tears in

fifteenth-century Netherlandish art within the context of contemporary devotional literature, and proposing patterns of response such images likely suggested. It is therefore not only the field of art historical inquiry that gives structure to the first part of the book, but also the questions that the essays raise when read comparatively: about communal uses of art, and its ability to shape and reflect social practices across cultural divides; about the role of gender in determining and engaging with these practices; about weeping as a socially constructed sign, and the tight embrace of emotion and convention; about the place of the viewer before the image; and, finally, about the power of the image to model both emotive and ritual responses.

The issue of response, in fact, serves as connective tissue to the second part of the book, which addresses both experiential and discursive conceptions of crying in three religious cultures of Western Europe: Christian, Jewish, and Muslim. The patron/viewer of the Netherlandish panel, Thürlemann argues, understood the value of tears as a sincere sign of profound piety, and so provided himself with a model for proper behavior in the person of a weeping participant of Christ's Deposition; one may argue that the painted tears served as a visual prompt for the incitement of this highly charged emotional response. Christopher Swift's essay, which opens the second part of the book, addresses precisely the difficulty of performing such a response on cue, and uses performance theory to suggest the possible ways a penitent in late medieval Spain would prepare for the flagellant procession, which would showcase his sincere contrition through the display of tears. The essay that follows, by Linda G. Jones, also takes up questions of sincerity and tearful public performances, this time in Muslim Spain as well as in Maghreb and Mashreq, by examining a rich array of sources, from juridical documents to recorded homilies, and arguing that weeping was both considered to be a sign of genuine piety and seen, at times, as highly suspect, simulated, and/or corrupting. The issue of simulation is brought up again in Kimberley-Joy Knight's essay, which examines the Christian concept of the Gift of Tears as a crucial indication of holiness that could not be suitably controlled by artificial means. Knight's piece, therefore, enters into a dialogue with Jones's and Swift's essays as well as with Rachel S. Mikva's, which concludes the second part of the book. Mikva, too, in exploring the place of heavenly and terrestrial crying in a rabbinic midrash on the sacrifice of Isaac, suggests that tears could be seen as a pathway to the divine, mediating the uncertain space between God and the devout. Read as a group, the four essays—which vary remarkably in both methodology and style—ask the reader to consider the striking similarities as well as substantial differences in the notions of tears in medieval Judaism, Christianity, and Islam; to ponder approaches to authenticity and sincerity at play in the lachrymal discourse; and to think about medieval concepts of tears not only as a ritualized or purely emotional response, but also as a complex device for communicating with the celestial sphere.

The interrogation of tears that form a mediatory channel to God is one aspect of Tracey-Anne Cooper's analysis, which opens the last part of the

book, a section largely concerned with literary texts—Anglo-Saxon, Middle English, French, and German—that foreground narratives of weeping. The four pieces gathered here establish conversations not just with one another, but also with essays in other parts of the volume. Cooper's chapter, for example, looks at several textual genres; her discussion of gendered emotional responses in Anglo-Saxon heroic poetry and their patent absence in chronicles offers profound resonances with Maguire's, Bleeke's, and Steinhoff's essays, while her exploration of Christian poetic and homiletic texts clearly echoes arguments brought up by Mikva and Knight. Like Cooper, Irit Kleiman suggests tears as a powerful pivoting force that signals vital (dis)junctures in the narrative; her examination of Chrétien de Troyes's *Philomena* explores weeping as a potent part of the gestural vocabulary and tears themselves as bodily metonymies, an argument read particularly fruitfully in conjunction with those of Thürlemann and Knight. The materiality of tears is considered from a different angle in Katherine O'Sullivan's essay on William Langland's *Piers Plowman*, where, the author argues, tears are used as "forensic evidence" in fictional judicial processes. Here again, questions of the authenticity and legitimacy of tears are raised, echoing and subverting arguments made by Swift, Jones, and Knight. In addition, O'Sullivan returns to the place of gender in the shaping of the conception and perception of tears, a question taken up again in Albrecht Classen's essay, which explores a series of Middle High German courtly texts for episodes structured by the lachrymose responses of their protagonists.

The final essay in the book, written by Barbara H. Rosenwein, serves as a coda to the volume. Rosenwein focuses on the feeling of despair and its antidote, weeping, and discusses the ways two people—the protagonist and the ostensible author of the fifteenth-century *Book of Margery Kempe* and an anonymous English Protestant known only as "A. O." who lived in the seventeenth century—articulated their despair to their contemporaries and ensured its transmission to posterity. Rosenwein's essay, inasmuch as it compares medieval and early modern sources, and considers the twenty-first-century reader's experience of someone else's communicated emotion, offers a bridge to the study of tears in modern discourse.

* * *

The approach of this book, which explores the multivalent ways that crying was seen, heard, perceived, figured, written, performed, and transmitted, is manifestly kaleidoscopic. It presupposes that one cannot distill a cohesive narrative of medieval tears, but can ask, instead, a series of questions that arise from the often startling juxtapositions of the material considered. All collections involve a certain amount of editorial gymnastics; some editors offer an exercise in distilling structure from disparity, while others embrace the diversity of their material, leaving readers to make their own connections across the essays. This book, I hope, is positioned somewhere

in between: its overarching theme tightly focused, it is nonetheless broadly conceived, allowing for a series of different interpretative frameworks to play out in each essay and in each section. Readers may wish, of course, to focus on those chapters that speak to their particular fields, but the greater value of the book lies in its integrated cross-disciplinarity, and in the way that each essay inflects, corroborates, and subverts others in the volume. In acknowledging the porous nature of visual and verbal evidence, this book foregrounds the necessity to read language, image, and experience together in order to envision the complex notions of medieval crying, which—irreducible to a set of unequivocal conclusions—may serve as a lens for the exploration of medieval approaches to emotion, gesture, convention, and sensory encounter.

NOTES

- * Many thanks to Robert Carroll for his editorial help with this introduction.
- 1. Jacques Derrida, *Memoirs of the Blind. The Self-Portrait and Other Ruins*, trans. Pascale-Anne Brault and Michael Naas (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 126.
- 2. Most recently, see Katja Boertjes, “Pilgrim Ampullae from Vendome: Souvenirs from a Pilgrimage to the Holy Tear of Christ,” in *Art and Architecture of Late Medieval Pilgrimage in Northern Europe and the British Isles*, ed. Sarah Blick and Rita Tekippe, 443–472 (Leiden: Brill, 2005; includes excellent bibliography on the subject); and René Crozet, “Le monument de la sainte larme à la Trinité de Vendôme,” *Bulletin monumental* 121 (1963): 171–180.
- 3. In Richard Morris, ed., *Old English Homilies and Homiletic Treatises of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1969), number XVII, 155–158.
- 4. See Naoë Kukita Yoshikawa, “Holy Medicine and Diseases of the Soul: Henry of Lancaster and *Le Livre de Seyntz Medicines*,” *Medical History* 53, no. 3 (2009): 397–414; and Louise M. Bishop, *Words, Stones, & Herbs: the Healing Word in Medieval and Early Modern England* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2007), 143–144.
- 5. On humoral characteristics of women as formulated by Galen, see, for example, Nancy Siraisi, *Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine: An Introduction to Knowledge and Practice* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 101ff.; elaborated in Elizabeth Robertson, “Medieval Medical Views of Women and Female Spirituality in the Ancrene Wisse and Julian of Norwich’s Showings,” in *Feminist Approaches to the Body in Medieval Literature*, ed. Linda Lomperis and Sarah Stanbury, 142–167 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993); see further Brenda Gardenour, “Gender in Medicine and Natural History,” in *Medieval Science, Technology, and Medicine: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Thomas F. Glick, Steven Livesey, and Faith Wallis, 182–184 (London: Routledge, 2005). On transpositions and conflations of Christ’s and Mary’s bodies, see, for example, Caroline Walker Bynum, “The Body of Christ in the Later Middle Ages,” in *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion* (New York: Zone Books, 1992), esp. 102–117; on flexibility of medieval conception of gender and sacred transgenering, see, e.g., Caroline Walker Bynum, *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality*

- of the *High Middle Ages* (Los Angeles and Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), esp. 110–169; on maternal imagery of Christ, see Barbara Newman, *From Virile Woman to Woman Christ: Studies in Medieval Religion and Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995).
6. Bishop, *Words*, 144.
 7. Pseudo-Albertus Magnus, *Women's Secrets: A Translation of Pseudo-Albertus Magnus's De Secretis Mulierum With Commentaries*, trans. and ed. Helen Rodnite Lemay (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992), 130, 137.
 8. On the text of the homily and its putative English translation, see Margaret Jennings, "The Art of the Pseudo-Origen Homily *De Maria Magdalena*," *Medievalia et Humanistica* 5 (1974): 139–152; and John P. McCall, "Chaucer and the Pseudo Origen *De Maria Magdalena*: A Preliminary Study," *Speculum* 46 (1971): 491–509.
 9. Katharine Goodland, *Female Mourning and Tragedy in Medieval and Renaissance English Drama: From the Raising of Lazarus to King Lear* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2005), 31–32.
 10. Jacques de Vitry, *The Life of Marie d'Oignies*, trans. Margot H. King, book 1, chapters 16–17; reprinted in Elizabeth Avilda Petroff, *Medieval Women's Visionary Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 180.
 11. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Selected Works*, ed. Gillian Rosemary Evans (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 1987), 141; for Francis's tears, see Thomas Celano's *Second Life*, part 1, chapter 6, trans. in Johannes Jørgensen, *Saint Francis of Assisi: A Biography*, trans. Thomas O'Connor Sloane (London: Longmans, 1912), 142.
 12. Walter Hilton, "From the *Ladder of Perfection*," in *English Spirituality in the Age of Wyclif*, ed. David Lyle Jeffrey, 135 (Vancouver: Regent College Publishing, 1988); for a discussion of the treatise's possible audiences, see Jennifer Bryan, *Looking Inward: Devotional Reading and the Private Self in Late Medieval England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 127–128.
 13. Discussed in Michael Baxandall, *Limewood Sculptors of Renaissance Germany* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985), 59–60; see also Kurt Guggisberg, *Bernische Kirchengeschichte* (Bern: P. Haupt, 1958), 38–40.
 14. Rodulphus Glaber, *Historiarum libri quinque* [The Five Books of the Histories], II, 5, 8, ed. and trans. John France (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 64–66.
 15. Jean-Marie Sansterre, "L'image blessée, l'image souffrante. Quelques récits de miracles entre Orient et Occident (VI^e—XII^e siècle)," in *Les images dans les sociétés médiévales. Pour une histoire comparée. Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome* 69, ed. Jean-Marie Sansterre, 126 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999).
 16. A classic study is Sixten Ringbom, "Devotional Images and Imaginative Devotions: Notes on the Place of Art in Late Medieval Piety," *Gazette des Beaux Arts* 6 (1969): 159–170; see also Ringbom's *Icon to Narrative: The Rise of the Dramatic Close-Up in Fifteenth Century Devotional Painting*, 2nd ed. (Doornspijk: Davaco, 1984).
 17. On Geertgen, see John Decker, *The Technology of Salvation and the Art of Geertgen tot Sint Jans* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2009), and especially "Engendering Contrition, Wounding the Soul: Geertgen tot Sint Jans' Man of Sorrows," *Artibus et Historiae* 57 (2008): 59–74. Emblematic of such representation, Master Francke's *Man of Sorrows*, which Michael Camille called "one of the most powerful instances of an image made for the purposes of empathy," features "the black-winged angel whose red-rimmed

eyes remind us that for contemporary worshippers crying was yet another intensely ocular experience"; see *Gothic Art: Glorious Visions* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1996), 119.

18. Moshe Barasch, "The Crying Face," *Artibus et historiae* 8 (1987): 28. Two important early studies on gestural language as indicative of emotion are Henry Maguire, "The Depiction of Sorrow in Middle Byzantine Art," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 31 (1977): 123–174; and Moshe Barasch, *Gestures of Despair in Medieval and Early Renaissance Art* (New York: New York University Press, 1976).
19. As I asked my contributors to include brief historiographic overviews into their chapters, I will not provide a full bibliography here, but single out several particularly pertinent recent studies that focus on tears, in addition to Barasch's article: first and foremost, Piroska Nagy's many publications on tears including the magisterial *Le don des larmes au Moyen Âge: un instrument spirituel en quête d'institution, Ve-XIIIe siècle* (Paris: A. Michel, 2000); Geneviève Hasenohr, "*Lacrimae pondera vocis habent*: Typologie des larmes dans la littérature de spiritualité française des XIIIe-XVe siècles," *Moyen Français* 37 (1997): 45–63; Gerd Althoff, "Empörung, Tränen, Zerknirschung: Emotionen in der öffentlichen Kommunikation des Mittelalters," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 30 (1996): 60–79; Lyn Blanchfield, "The Sincere Body: The Performance of Weeping and Emotion in Late Medieval Italian Sermons," *Quidditas* 20 (1999): 117–135; Leslie Abend Callahan, "The Widow's Tears: The Pedagogy of Grief in Medieval France and the Image of the Grieving Widow," in *Constructions of Widowhood and Virginity in the Middle Ages*, ed. Cindy L. Carlson and Angela Jane Weisl, 245–263 (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1999); William A. Christian, "Provoked Religious Weeping in Early Modern Spain," in *Religious Organization and Religious Experience*, ed. John Davis, 97–114 (London: Academic Press, 1982); Gary L. Ebersole, "The Function of Ritual Weeping Revisited: Affective Expression and Moral Discourse," *History of Religions* 39, no. 3 (2000): 211–246; reprinted in *Religion and Emotion: Approaches and Interpretations*, ed. John Corrigan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 185–222; James Elkins, *Pictures & Tears* (New York and London: Routledge 2001); David Ganz, "Spuren der Bildwerdung. Zur Medialität gemalter Tränen im Spätmittelalter," in *Tränen*, ed. Beate Söntgen and Geraldine Spiekermann, 27–40 (Munich: Wilhelm Fink 2008); Tom Lutz, *Crying: The Natural and Cultural History of Tears* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1999); Kimberley Christine Patton and John Stratton Hawley, eds., *Holy Tears: Weeping in the Religious Imagination* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005); Anne Vincent-Buffault, *The History of Tears: Sensibility and Sentimentality in France*, trans. Teresa Bridgeman (1986; repr., New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991); and, most recently, Thorsten Fögen, ed., *Tears in the Graeco-Roman World* (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2009). For a biochemist's take on tears as "the key to the chemistry of human emotions," see William H. Frey, *Crying: The Mystery of Tears* (Minneapolis: Winston Press, 1985).

Prolegomenon

Considerations of Weeping and Sincerity in the Middle Ages

Lyn A. Blanchfield

This chapter intends to provide insight on studying weeping in the medieval period as well as offer some suggestions for a comprehensive approach to this behavior and its complex relationship with emotion. In recent years there has been a veritable explosion of new scholarship that strives to explore how medieval people perceived, understood, and revealed their own emotional and behavioral lives.¹ Two approaches among several have proven to be useful for medievalists: the study of “emotion words” and language, and the study of bodily gestures that can be viewed to express or deny emotions or other inner states of being.² While scholars such as William Reddy and Carol and Peter Stearns have focused their attention on the study of emotion in the modern period, others—such as Maureen Flynn, Barbara H. Rosenwein, Daniel Lord Smail, and Susan Karant-Nunn—have looked at premodern contexts for definitions of emotion, considering not only individual modes of emotional expression but also the different ways groups of people understood and performed their own emotions within certain contexts.³ Whereas these groundbreaking studies focused primarily on how emotions were defined and utilized by medieval populations, other scholars—among them Jean-Claude Schmitt, Moshe Barasch, Piro-ska Nagy, Elina Gertsman, Lisa Perfetti, and William A. Christian—have drawn attention to the various ways people in the past used bodily and facial gestures and movements, whether spontaneous, learned, or both, in many religious, social, and cultural contexts.⁴ For these scholars, the use of gestures and behaviors to express emotion is only one aspect of the vast meanings and functions of the body. By focusing on specific gestures or behaviors (weeping; laughter; eye, hand, and facial movements; kneeling) such studies intend to uncover how and why people understood and utilized the body as a potential yet problematic source of meaning both as individuals and as members of the larger society.

Weeping constitutes a challenging intersection between emotion and behavior. In many medieval sources, tears—which result from a complex physiological process that involves the body, the mind, and the emotions—are often described as objects that can be manipulated.⁵ Because weeping and crying, like laughter, have been and continue to be seen as deeply

connected to emotion, involving all physiological, psychological, and intellectual aspects of the human body, examining them may lead to a broader study of the intersection between emotion and gestures in the past.⁶

In order to understand the problems associated with studying weeping in the Middle Ages and to consider a broad analytical approach, some basic issues concerning this behavior must be addressed. In the past, scholars such as Johan Huizinga and Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, who interpreted the weeping of their medieval subjects, assumed that the meanings of this behavior were transparent and remained unchanged over time.⁷ Furthermore, they both asserted that weeping accurately revealed the inner emotions of their medieval subjects; emotions that they perceived to be rather “childlike” in comparison to those of their own time period.⁸

These assumptions are problematic since they fail to recognize that while weeping as a bodily function is ahistorical, its meanings are not. Just as studies of the body in the medieval period consider its changing uses, meanings, perceptions, and problems in various contexts, so too do studies of weeping examine changing perceptions and uses over time. While Huizinga and Le Roy Ladurie presupposed that weeping is a simple act uncomplicated by cultural factors, considerations of gender, age, class, and context must inform our interpretation of its performance: weeping, after all, is a gesture, a behavioral and performative act open to manipulation.⁹ What this act or behavior appears to signify is as culturally determined as the way we ourselves read and interpret this problematic behavior in our sources.

To test these assumptions, we may do well to focus on one particular issue, that of the connection between sincerity and tears. In the Western tradition weeping has long been viewed as a physical, visible, and often uncontrolled bodily response to some internal state such as pain, sadness, grief, anger, or even happiness.¹⁰ As William Reddy notes in his interview with Jan Plamper, weeping is often considered to be so “beyond such conscious, direct decision-making” about emotional expression that tears, along with blushing, have been seen as “marks of sincerity or clues to an interior state.”¹¹ Concepts of sincerity and repentance provide an especially useful lens through which medieval weeping can be explored, because the discussion of the relationship between weeping and emotional genuineness—and thus between weeping and deception—was widespread in the ancient, medieval, and early modern world. A plethora of diverse written and visual representations of this behavior in a variety of medieval sources allow—even require—scholars to cross many disciplinary and contextual lines in order to address the challenging issues of *how*, *why*, and *whether* weeping was used to represent or express sincerity, whether emotional, spiritual, or otherwise.

As a bodily gesture or performative act, weeping is generally external to the body and thus is witnessed by others.¹² Interpreting Hugh of St. Victor’s discussion of gesture in his twelfth-century *De institutione novitiorum*, Jean-Claude Schmitt notes: “a gesture is a ‘movement’ [and] . . . the

gesture is always seen by someone [and thus] it is the look of the ‘other’ that makes . . . it exist.”¹³ According to this interpretation, the presence of a witness validates the tearful behavior, acknowledging both the person weeping and the emotions that the tears ostensibly signify. In this case, both the bodily movements and the actual tears shed are seen and validated. This validation, whether by another person or by God during moments of private religious devotion, for example, is essential for the weeper and for the behavior itself since the audience and its specific expectations provide the cultural context necessary to assess what meaning this behavior should assume at that moment. Again referring to Hugh of St. Victor, Schmitt adds that the gesture has value and purpose as an expression of states that are hidden from view.¹⁴ This assumes, of course, that what is seen is or can be interpreted as an accurate or sincere sign of what state is, in fact, being concealed. As a witnessed gesture, weeping is central to many medieval sources that discuss religious and spiritual rituals, especially those that appear to require a sign of sincere emotional and spiritual participation or transformation, such as confession.¹⁵

Weeping and the shedding of tears were defined and often used as signs of genuine contrition in the ritual of confession and penance as well as in sermons and processions.¹⁶ These and other medieval rituals can be seen as performances or, as one sociologist notes, “social process[es] by which actors, individually or in concert, display for others the meaning of their social situation.”¹⁷ Since rituals can also be considered sites where people can recall their past performances and behaviors, and can shape them for current concerns, they offer a remarkably useful framework for understanding how weeping can be perceived to function and change as a physical and visible sign of some other state of being.¹⁸ As rituals, confession and penance can provide a social and religious context for weeping as well as legitimize and emphasize certain meanings of weeping while de-emphasizing others.

Contrition, in particular, is a state of being that was—and continues to be—such a critical concern for Christians that its signs are described at length in many early Christian and later medieval devotional exercises. According to the Church, the internal transformation of contrition required some visible and physical sign that the sinner had repented sincerely. Penance and contrition needed such an easily identifiable sign because, as the fourteenth-century Spanish priest Juan Ruiz notes in his *Book of Good Love*, the church cannot judge such hidden things [whether or not someone is contrite and forgiven by God]; thus it is also necessary for him to make, either by gestures or by groans, some sign showing that he has repented. This he can do by beating his breast, or lifting his hands to God, or sighing with sad and grievous moans or, the best sign of repentance, by weeping.¹⁹

After this recommendation, Ruiz provides clear, biblical evidence as to why weeping is the finest such sign by referring to Mary Magdalene, who wept “contrite tears,” and Peter, who denied Jesus and wept “sad and bitter

tears.”²⁰ According to Ruiz, weeping is the “best sign” because, presumably, the sinner would not weep unless he or she was truly contrite, just as the examples of the Magdalene and Peter appear to suggest. For him, the inner state of contrition is assumed to prompt the gesture of weeping, a bodily expression that can be witnessed and judged by a priest who, in turn, validates and provides meaning for what he sees.

Ruiz’s perception of how weeping and emotion coexist raises certain questions, particularly how and why this relationship was constructed in this way in the context of the ritual of confession.²¹ Indeed, the sinner’s supposedly true contrition is not the only issue here—it is also his or her external gesture, and how well it was performed in this ritual and conformed to the expectations of the witness. For tears do not always indicate sincerity of contrition *per se*, as is evident in the early Church’s requirement of public penance for absolution of sin, which defined weeping not only as a sign of repentance, but also a distinct sign of obedience.

As R. S. T. Haselhurst notes in his classic work on confession and penitential discipline, the early eastern Christian Church instituted public rituals of penance, which involved four unique stages that dictated the complete yet temporary expulsion of the sinner from the Christian community.²² The first of these four stages involved the weepers or mourners referred to as the *flentes*.²³ According to Haselhurst, those sinners who had committed the most heinous crimes were required to enter public penance at this stage, which mandated their expulsion from the space of the church itself.²⁴ In this stage the sinners were required to cry and implore their community for intercession for a certain period of time in order to demonstrate publicly their desire and worthiness to advance to the next stage of penance.²⁵ Whether or not people actually behaved in this manner is difficult, if not impossible, to determine, but the existence of these stages, particularly the one that specifies weeping, indicates a requirement to follow specific behavioral regulations that constituted the public penance. In this case, weeping had to be performed and witnessed publicly, suggesting that the sinners’ adherence to the regulations was critical for the penitential process. In the early Church the use of public penance ensured, as Thomas N. Tentler notes in his work on confession, the obedience of the sinner as well as the rest of the Christian community.²⁶ Weeping became part of this demonstration of obedience.

As this example shows, weeping could sometimes be defined as a sign of sincerity or emotion but could also be perceived as a sign of submission; and both conceptions of weeping must inform our interpretation of Ruiz’s view of penitential behavior. As a gesture, weeping fits into a behavioral model that requires a physical sign of the sinner’s true confession, thus ensuring that the sinner, even if not sincere, had at least shown his or her obedience and had that obedience acknowledged by the Church.²⁷ While this functional aspect of shedding tears does not necessarily negate the possibility that one’s weeping *can* be linked to emotion or some other inner state, it does suggest

another layer of meaning that we, as scholars, must examine. Furthermore, understanding why and how weeping was defined to function as a sign of repentance can be useful for analyzing other medieval sources that include weeping and tears as symbols or representations of repentance.

Ruiz's example therefore reveals a major concern for the study and interpretation of lachrymose behavior as a gesture, and suggests that there are several ways to interpret weeping in this context. Is such weeping to be read as a spontaneous expression of some emotion or inner transformation? Can it be seen as a sign of obedience? Or can it be viewed as a learned, gestural response to the ritual of confession? How does this concern about weeping as a gesture affect weeping's supposed connection to sincerity and deception, and to the larger issue of emotion? In "Provoked Religious Weeping in Early Modern Spain," William A. Christian argues that in the context of certain religious and spiritual practices, the relationship between weeping and emotion was seen as interactive and multifaceted, further complicating the concern with tears as signs of sincerity. Christian notes that "weeping was considered something that people could learn to do, in the course of exciting their emotions," and yet tears could be seen as "visible evidence for some feelings" in what he calls an "economy of sentiment."²⁸ As Christian states later, this understanding of weeping as both learned and emotional "evidence" does not mean that it was seen merely an act that was "put on," nor did this preclude its ability to provoke or provide evidence of a potentially real and effective "emotional consequence" to a particular event or ritual.²⁹ Weeping has the potential to be both the cause and the result of emotion, revealing an interactive relationship between the two.

This interactivity, then, necessitates an examination of how sincerity, and its association with certain cultural factors such as age or gender, even if not directly mentioned in a given textual source, plays a role in this relationship. Even though, for example, Ruiz does not express much concern for these factors as they relate to his hypothetical lachrymose sinners, his text must be contextualized within other, contemporary sources that do assume that there is an intrinsic connection between the truthfulness of tears and the weeper's age or sex. Certain medieval sources that discuss the gestures of children, for example, make assumptions about how sincerity is affected by their youth and/or sex given the relative inexperience of both boys and girls with the gestural and behavioral codes of adults.³⁰ Others describe women as being more prone to weep and more capable therefore of deceiving with their tears: the fifteenth-century English mystic Margery Kempe's copious crying is thus often seen by her fellows as deceptive.³¹ Ruiz's sinners are anonymous, generic: but their prescribed behavior must be inherently inflected by and contextualized within the way that Ruiz and his contemporaries may have perceived the lachrymose sincerity of a young boy or an elderly woman who wept before them during confession.

This very anonymity—this gap in Ruiz's discourse—finally brings us to the question of how we interpret the way our sources use language and

rhetoric to describe the relationship between sincerity and weeping.³² As mentioned previously, Barbara H. Rosenwein's recent work on "Emotion Words" provides insight on certain words and how they express emotion.³³ Still other works on emotion in the medieval and early modern periods address the issue of language and how people shaped and understood their emotional experiences by using specific vocabulary.³⁴ All of these studies suggest the importance of not only *what* people said about their own behavioral and emotional lives but also *how* they described them. For example, recorded sermons or *reportationes* often document the preacher's words and actions as well as the audience's weeping after the sermon with a highly formulized, rhetorical structure that is seen in other descriptions of public, collective weeping at similar rituals.³⁵ These descriptions of sermon audiences legitimize the weeping and enable the reader or listener to assess weeping's function and meaning within these events. Susan Verdi Webster suggests that records of sixteenth-century Spanish Holy Week processions also used a specific vocabulary when describing scenes of weeping prompted by vivid sculptures of Jesus carrying the cross or being crucified. She notes that this formal language "reflect[ed] not only the accepted and desired modes of response, but also the theological and popular notions of the apparatus of cognitive and religious experience itself."³⁶

This formal language used to describe a lachrymose response demonstrates a widespread need for a verbal format that was perceived to authenticate weeping and the emotions it was seen to represent.³⁷ For scholars, this raises certain concerns about the authenticity of the events; yet, the existence of a formal language or rhetorical format does not necessarily mean that people did not weep at these events or that people did not have real emotional experiences. While these formal descriptions of weeping may not be accurate reflections of what really happened, what appears to be more important, as Verdi Webster notes, is that these weeping episodes are documented so that they appear to fit, or not fit as the case may be, into generally accepted patterns of behavior that are seen at other, similar events. This formal language attempts to provide a framework—for our sources and for ourselves—for examining how weeping met, or did not meet, certain expectations. Due to these concerns, we must be diligent in exploring possible patterns of language that our sources use and in uncovering how rhetoric affects our sources' descriptions and interpretations of weeping.

* * *

In using the question of sincerity as a case study, this brief chapter has attempted to demonstrate some of the problems and concerns associated with studying weeping in the medieval period. Already complex and multifaceted, this behavior becomes more complicated by the diversity of medieval sources, settings, and contexts that describe and utilize it. Some possible points of entry may provide fodder for further discussion and debate.

Rosenwein's concept of "emotional communities" could function well for the discussion of weeping, since lachrymose behavior could be defined as one among many "modes of emotional expression that [these communities] expect, encourage, tolerate, and deplore."³⁸ The researcher uncovering "systems of feeling" must deal with weeping and the ways in which it was evaluated and expressed in these various groups.³⁹ As Rosenwein makes clear, these "communities" depend upon a collective understanding, if not necessarily an agreement, of how emotions were valued, perceived, and evaluated, even if someone rejected or manipulated that common understanding. Weeping—its performance, meaning, and function in specific contexts—is also dependent upon collective understanding, whether consciously or unconsciously acknowledged. Could Rosenwein's approach work for weeping? Can we identify "communities of weepers"? What would they look like? How could we tease out the many, sometimes conflicting, meanings that each community assumed for this behavior? How could we account for similarities or differences of meanings between various communities? While overlapping meanings between groups are certainly common, as Rosenwein notes about emotions, the possible reasons for these similarities are rooted in culture and physiology, both of which affects how we see and interpret this behavior and its meanings. While one could argue that many scholars are already applying some of these ideas to their studies, using this analytical approach may elicit more dialogue across contexts, disciplines, and time periods.⁴⁰

Studies of weeping and tears have emphasized the diversity and shifts of their meanings from one context to another, from one group to another, and in various time periods. The present volume considers the many larger and broader concerns about weeping and its connections to various states of being, including emotion. Its aim is to enable us to tease out the many meanings that this behavior was perceived to embody, but also to challenge us to consider the vast and ever-changing perceptions of ourselves as physical, emotional, and intellectual beings.

NOTES

- * My sincere thanks to Elina Gertsman and Barbara H. Rosenwein for their insightful comments and helpful revisions, and to Erin Mullally for her support and advice.
- 1. Jan Plamper, "The History of Emotions: An Interview with William Reddy, Barbara Rosenwein, and Peter Stearns," *History and Theory* 49 (May 2010): 237–265.
- 2. The term "emotion words" is used in Barbara H. Rosenwein, "Emotion Words," in *Le Sujet des Émotions au Moyen Âge*, ed. Piroska Nagy and Damien Boquet, 93–106 (Paris: Editions Beauchesne, 2008). For bodily gestures, see Jean-Claude Schmitt, *La raison des gestes dans l'Occident médiéval* (Paris: Editions Gallimard, 1990); and Barasch, *Gestures of Despair*.
- 3. For example, William Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001);

- Carol Z. Stearns and Peter N. Stearns, *Anger: The Struggle for Emotional Control in America's History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986); Maureen Flynn, "Taming Anger's Daughters: New Treatment for Emotional Problems in Renaissance Spain," *Renaissance Quarterly* 51 (Autumn 1998): 864–886; Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006); Daniel Lord Smail, *The Consumption of Justice: Emotions, Publicity, and Legal Culture in Marseilles 1264–1423* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003); Susan Karant-Nunn, *The Reformation of Feeling: Shaping the Religious Emotions in Early Modern Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010). See also the recently formed scholarly group on the history of emotions called EMMA: Emotions in the Middle Ages, directed by Piroska Nagy and Damien Boquet. For other approaches to the study of emotion, see Simo Knuuttila, *Emotions in Ancient and Medieval Philosophy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); and C. Stephen Jaeger and Ingrid Kasten, eds., *Codierungen von Emotionen im Mittelalter* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2003). For a discussion of sadness and consolation by Renaissance Italian humanists, see George W. McClure, *Sorrow and Consolation in Italian Humanism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991).
4. For example, see Schmitt, *La raison des gestes*; Barasch, *Gestures of Despair*; Nagy, *Le don des larmes*; Elina Gertsman, "The Facial Gesture: (Mis)Reading Emotion in Later Medieval Art," *Journal of Medieval Religious Cultures* 36, no. 1–2 (2010): 28–46; Lisa Perfetti, *Women and Laughter in Medieval Comic Literature* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003); Christian, "Provoked Religious Weeping."
 5. See my entry on weeping, coauthored with Sheila Jennett, "Weeping," *The Oxford Companion to the Body* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001). Writers, both medieval and modern, use "crying," "weeping," and "shedding of tears" interchangeably. For example, see the introduction to *Holy Tears* by Kimberley Christine Patton and John Stratton Hawley, where they use both "weeping" and "tears" to discuss the religious phenomenon of lachrymose prayer.
 6. Although the focus here is on the human body, studies on the emotional and behavioral lives of animals have been conducted; for example, see J. Mousaieff Masson and S. McCarthy, *When Elephants Weep: The Emotional Lives of Animals* (New York: Delacorte Press, 1995).
 7. Johan Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages*, trans. F. Hopman (New York: Anchor Books, 1954); Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Montaillou: The Promised Land of Error*, trans. Barbara Bray (New York: Vintage Books, 1979).
 8. See Barbara H. Rosenwein, "Worrying about Emotions in History," *American Historical Review* 107, no. 3 (June 2002), 821–845, for a good critique of the assumptions of Huizinga and later interpretations of the medieval and early modern periods by Lucien Febvre and Norbert Elias.
 9. Many recent studies of weeping consider these cultural factors so I will not discuss these in much depth. See also my PhD dissertation; Lyn A. Blanchfield, "Tears that Tell: The Ritualistic Uses of Weeping by Participants of Late Medieval Florentine Sermons" (Binghamton University, 2003).
 10. The literature on weeping, tears, and crying in relation to medieval modes of grief and mourning is considerable and thus will not be directly addressed here. The classic work on mourning remains Ernesto de Martino, *Morte e pianto rituale: dal lamento funebre antico al pianto di Maria* (1958; repr., Turin: Paolo Boringhieri, 1975). For more recent works on grief and weeping, see, for example, Jennifer C. Vaught and Lynne Dickson Bruckner, eds., *Grief and Gender: 700–1700* (New York: Palgrave, 2003).

11. Plamper, "History of Emotions," 242. In this interview Reddy refers only to blushing and weeping yet laughter has also be seen as an "unconscious" response to various stimuli; see Perfetti, *Women and Laughter*.
12. While there are some medieval accounts of mystical weeping or tears that are defined as "internal" and hidden from view, the presumption is that the weeper and God can still witness these tears; see, for example, Catherine of Siena, who advocates for "pianto del fuoco" (weeping of fire) and "lagrime del fuoco" (tears of fire), which are both located in the soul; Catherine of Siena, *Libro della divina dottrina volgarmente detto dialogo della divina provvidenza*, ed. Matilde Fiorilli (Bari: Laterza, 1928).
13. Hugh of St. Victor, "De institutione novitiorum," in *Patrologia cursus completus. Series Latina*, ed. J. P. Migne, 177–178 (Paris: Garner, 1844), 176: cols. 925–952; Schmitt, *La raison des gestes*, 177–178.
14. Schmitt, *La raison des gestes*, 178–179.
15. Piroska Nagy considers how medieval sources perceive the "Gift of Tears" and focuses on "individual religious weeping in relation to the concept of ritual," yet this and Nagy's earlier study of tears do not address this larger issue of sincerity; see Piroska Nagy, "Religious Weeping as Ritual in the Medieval West," *Social Analysis* 48, no. 2 (Summer 2004): 119–137, esp. 119. See also Nagy, *Le don des larmes*.
16. Both William A. Christian and Ernesto de Martino emphasize weeping as a ritualized behavior, one that is perceived to have specific rules that dictate its performance. Several chapters in this volume, but especially those by Christopher Swift, Linda G. Jones, Kimberley-Joy Knight, Katherine O'Sullivan, and Irit Kleiman, interrogate the role of tears precisely in terms of manipulation and sincerity.
17. Jeffrey C. Alexander, "Cultural Pragmatics: Social Performance between Ritual and Strategy," *Sociological Theory* 22, no. 4 (2004): 529.
18. For more on ritual as social and collective memory, see Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 13–21.
19. Juan Ruiz, *The Book of Good Love*, trans. Rigo Mignani and Mario A. Di Cesare (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1972), 230.
20. Ibid.
21. I explain the role of weeping in the Christian rite of confession in my PhD dissertation, "Tears that Tell," chaps. 1 and 2.
22. Richard Stafford Tyndale Haselhurst, *Some Account of the Penitential Discipline of the Early Church in the First Four Centuries* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1921), 87–88. Haselhurst states that these stages are found in the works of Gregory Thaumaturgus (d.c. 260).
23. Ibid., 88.
24. Ibid.
25. The second stage contained the *audientes*, who were allowed to enter the church but only to hear the sermon (ibid.).
26. Thomas N. Tentler, *Sin and Confession on the Eve of the Protestant Reformation* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977), 5.
27. Geoffrey Koziol addresses this issue of obedience in ritual in *Begging Pardon and Favor: Ritual and Political Order in Early Medieval France* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992).
28. Christian, "Provoked Religious Weeping," 97–98.
29. Ibid., 110–111.
30. Richard C. Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence* (1980; repr., Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991), 87–91 and 377–378.
31. There are many examples of Margery weeping but one good example is described in [Chapter 3](#) when she weeps so much that the people of Lynn

called her a “false hypocrite”; Margery Kempe, *The Book of Margery Kempe*, ed. Sanford Meech Brown and Hope Emily Allen (London: Early English Text Society, 1940), 13. On Margery’s weeping, see Barbara H. Rosenwein’s chapter in this volume.

32. Some studies see weeping as a language in itself, which can be interpreted to gauge changes in the values of certain emotional states. See, for example, Anne Vincent-Buffault’s study of weeping patrons of the theater in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century France; Anne Vincent-Buffault, *Histoire des larmes: XVIIIe-XIXe siècles* (Paris: Editions Rivages, 1986). Patton and Hawley also ask if weeping is “a form of speech” or “an extralinguistic kind of communication”; Patton and Hawley, *Holy Tears*, 5.
33. Rosenwein, “Emotion Words,” 93–106.
34. See, for example, Karant-Nunn, *Reformation of Feeling*.
35. Some of the *reportationes* from late medieval Florence that I have examined were recorded by notaries, which may explain the use of this formulized language; see Blanchfield, “Tears that Tell,” chaps. 4, 5, and 6; Blanchfield, “Sincere Body,” 117–135.
36. Verdi Webster does not mention if the recorders of these Spanish processions were notaries, which might affect the language; Susan Verdi Webster, *Art and Ritual in Golden Age Spain: Sevillian Confraternities and the Processional Sculpture of Holy Week* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998), 173.
37. Chronicle accounts of the 1399 Bianchi processions in central and northern Italy also use the same rhetorical patterns; see, for example, Luca Dominici, “Cronache di Ser Luca Dominici,” in *Cronaca della venuta dei Bianchi e della moria*, ed. G. C. Gigliotti. 1:77–80 (Pistoia: Alberto Pacinotti, 1933); Giovanni Conversini da Ravenna, *La processione dei Bianchi nella città di Padova (1399)* (Padua: Centro Studi Antoniani, 1978), 65–67.
38. Rosenwein, “Worrying about Emotions,” 842.
39. Ibid.
40. In his study of medieval monks, Brian Patrick McGuire argues that weeping in this community served to create and solidify devotional bonds between men; Brian Patrick McGuire, *Friendship and Community: The Monastic Experience 350–1250* (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1988).

Part I

Tears and Image

1 Women Mourners in Byzantine Art, Literature, and Society

Henry Maguire

The principal purpose of this chapter is to examine attitudes toward mourning practices in Byzantium, especially as revealed in the art and literature of the Church.¹ However, my chapter also has a secondary purpose, which is somewhat broader in its implications, namely, to address the problems associated with the use of medieval religious art as evidence for social history.

It is obvious to the most casual observer that there are limits to the extent to which Byzantine paintings and mosaics can be used as historical sources. We may take, as an example, the early fourteenth-century mosaic from the exonarthex of the Kariye Camii in Istanbul ([Figure 1.1](#)).²

It depicts Christ turning water into wine at the wedding of Cana. As has been shown by Charalambos Bakirtzis, the vessel carried on the shoulder of the servant on the right is a particular type of container with a spherical or ovoid body known to the Byzantines as a *Lagena*.³ This type of vessel seems to have first appeared in the ninth century, and, as we know from archaeological evidence, was still in use in the fourteenth century. The *Lagenes* were employed both for the transport of liquids, and, as we see in the mosaic, for their handling in the household. The mosaic in the Kariye Camii, therefore, appears to give us valuable clues concerning the shapes of medieval Byzantine ceramics and about the ways in which they were carried and used. On the other hand, the same could never be said of the clothing worn by the actors in the mosaic. The classicizing garments of the disciples behind Christ, for example, follow an artistic tradition that goes back to the beginnings of Christian art in late antiquity. No one could suppose that they reflect the kind of costumes that might have been worn at a Byzantine wedding in the fourteenth century.

Medieval Byzantine religious art, therefore, turns out to be an uncertain guide to the reconstruction of objects used in daily life, useful in some particulars, but not in others.⁴ But to what extent can Byzantine paintings be used as evidence for the performance of popular *rituals* in Byzantium?⁵ A case in point is the wonderfully detailed fresco of the Lamentation over the dead Christ from the church of St. Clement at Ohrid,



Figure 1.1 Istanbul, Kariye Camii, Mosaic. *Wedding at Cana*. Source: Dumbarton Oaks, Byzantine Photograph and Fieldwork Archives, Washington, DC.



Figure 1.2 Ohrid, St. Clement, fresco. *The Lamentation*. Photo: Josephine Powell Photograph, courtesy of Special Collections, Fine Arts Library, Harvard College Library.



Figure 1.3 Ohrid, St. Clement, fresco. *The Lamentation*, detail of the Virgin. Photo: Josephine Powell Photograph, courtesy of Special Collections, Fine Arts Library, Harvard College Library.

which was painted by the Greek artists Michael and Eutychios in the last decade of the thirteenth century (Figures 1.2–1.3).⁶

Here we see a large crowd of female mourners, who make a variety of gestures of lamentation: they bare their heads, they expose their hair, they pull their locks, or they raise their arms into the air. Are we justified in seeing this scene as an illustration of a ritual lament of the late thirteenth century, just as the vessels in the *Wedding at Cana* in the Kariye Camii were faithful renderings of medieval ceramics? Or are these mourning women merely part of an independent iconographic tradition that had no connection with contemporary reality, like the costumes of the disciples in the mosaic of the marriage at Cana?

In order to find an answer to this question, I shall divide my chapter into two sections. In the first section, I shall outline the church's official attitude to mourning, as expressed in sermons, letters, and biblical commentaries. In the

second section, I shall look at some representations of mourning in Byzantine art, in order to see how far these may have corresponded with church teaching, on the one hand, and with actual social practices, on the other.

MOURNING IN CHURCH WRITINGS

From the fourth century onwards, the teaching of the Byzantine church on the subject of mourning was consistent: mourning was a proper response to bereavement, but only in moderation. The strictures of the ecclesiastics were directed in the first place to women, since women took the primary role in the mourning rituals of Byzantium. However, men were not excluded from displays of grief, as we learn, for example, from the *Life* of St. Mary the Younger, a pious woman of the ninth century. When this saint died, we are told that “there broke forth great weeping and wailing, raised both by her husband and the women.”⁷ Weeping was permitted, but excessive demonstrations of grief, such as tearing one’s hair, clothes, or cheeks, loud wailing, or beating one’s chest were unacceptable, not just because they were indecorous, but more importantly because they implied a lack of faith. The problem of what was correct deportment for Christians in bereavement was often discussed in commentaries upon the eleventh chapter of St. John’s Gospel, which tells the story of the Raising of Lazarus. The death of Lazarus, of course, was the one occasion on which the Bible says outright that Jesus himself wept.⁸ St. John Chrysostom, in his commentary on this passage, compared the restraint of Mary and Martha with the abandon of the women of his own time: “but now,” he said, “along with the other evils, this female affliction also prevails. For in lamenting and wailing they make a display, baring their arms, tearing their hair, scratching gullies down their cheeks. . . . And they bare their arms—this under the eyes of men. . . . [Weeping] I do not forbid,” continues John Chrysostom, “but I forbid beating oneself and immoderate weeping. . . . Weep, but gently, but with decorum. . . . If you were to weep thus, you would not weep as one who distrusts the Resurrection, but as one who cannot bear being separated.”⁹ The same advice was repeated by other fourth-century fathers, including St. Basil of Caesarea and St. Gregory of Nazianzus,¹⁰ and also by many later Byzantine writers. Theodore of Stoudios (d. 826), for example, wrote to a nun whose mother had recently died, praising her for “not giving vent to irrational wails and desperate lamentings.”¹¹ To be altogether without grief, he said, shows want of feeling, but to break down in grief shows a lack of faith in the Resurrection.¹²

In a similar vein, we may quote from the commentary on St. John’s Gospel that was written by Theophylaktos of Bulgaria (d. after 1126), probably for the Empress Maria, wife of Michael VII. Speaking of the Raising of Lazarus, Theophylaktos declared: “To have no feeling and no weeping is bestial; but to weep too much and to be fond of lamenting is womanly.”¹³ A somewhat later commentator, Euthymios Zigabenos (ca. 1100), drew a lesson concerning the correct mode of grieving from Christ’s demeanor at the death of Lazarus:

“Christ wept, allowing his [human] nature to reveal what was proper to it, giving us a moderate measure of weeping for the dead. Then Christ rebuked his feelings, not allowing them to degenerate into excess.”¹⁴ The twelfth-century South Italian preacher Philagathos drew a distinction between weeping and wailing; the former was natural and permissible, the latter was to be curbed, as Christ himself had curbed his grief at the death of Lazarus.¹⁵

Similar official attitudes toward grief were expressed in the lives of Byzantine saints. An example is found in the *Vita* of St. Mary the Younger, whose firstborn child, a son, died prematurely at the age of five. We are told that “her mother’s heart was broken and torn asunder, as one would expect; but she kept to herself, sighing and openly weeping, without, however, displaying unseemly behavior. She did not tear out her hair, nor did she disfigure her cheeks with her hands, nor did she rend her clothes, nor did she throw ashes on her head, nor did she utter blasphemous words. She almost conquered nature . . . weeping just enough to show she was a mother.”¹⁶

MOURNING IN BYZANTINE ART

For many centuries the teaching of the church with regard to mourning was reinforced by its art. Until the end of the twelfth century violent gestures of grief, such as the pulling of hair, the scratching of cheeks, and the tearing of clothes, were excluded from New Testament scenes.¹⁷ We may take, by way of example, the early twelfth-century fresco of the Raising of Lazarus



Figure 1.4 Asinou, Church of the Panagia Phorbiotissa, fresco. *The Raising of Lazarus*. Photo: Dumbarton Oaks, Image Collections and Fieldwork Archives, Washington, DC.

in the Church of the Virgin at Asinou, on Cyprus, where the deportment of Christ and of the two sisters, Mary and Martha, corresponds admirably to the restraint prescribed by the homilists (Figure 1.4).¹⁸

Only one of the women, Mary, holds her hand against her cheek, as a sign that she is gently weeping. Likewise, if we look at the painting of the Death of the Virgin (*Koimesis*) in the same church, we see that both the apostles and the women in the arcaded galleries behind them are weeping quietly, with their cheeks cradled in their hands or their garments.¹⁹ Somewhat more expressive gestures of grief can be found in twelfth-century paintings of the *Threnos*, the Lament over the body of Christ, such as the fresco of 1191 in the church of St. George at Kurbinovo. Here one of the mourning women may be seen to raise up her hands in lamentation.²⁰ But, to my knowledge, before the thirteenth century Byzantine artists never painted violent, self-destructive gestures of the kind condemned by the church fathers, even in depictions of the *Threnos*.

However, violent, unrestrained actions *were* described and depicted in other contexts, especially portrayals of penitents, deathbed scenes from the Old Testament, and the Massacre of the Innocents. In all these cases, extreme grief was permissible, even appropriate, according to the teaching of the church. St. John Chrysostom, while he discouraged lamenting for the dead, recommended that Christians grieve for their own sins.²¹ Accordingly, it is in portrayals of penitents that we find the most violent gestures of grief in Byzantine art, most notably in a miniature from a late twelfth-century or early thirteenth-century manuscript in the Vatican (ms. gr. 1754, fol. 6r.), which illustrates the *Penitential Canon* (Figure 1.5).²²

This poem, which was ascribed to Andrew of Crete, celebrates the “Holy Criminals,” whose prison is described in the *Heavenly Ladder* by John Climacus. The miniature shows a group of penitent monks tearing at their hair, under a caption that reads, in part: “These, being at a loss for tears, strike themselves.”

Violent displays of grief were also permissible in Old Testament contexts. John of Damascus contrasted the attitudes toward death appropriate to the Old Testament and the New: “In the old [dispensation]. . . the race of man was under a curse, and death was a penalty, and was therefore mourned.”²³ “Now,” he said, “the remembrances of the saints are kept as festivals. The dead body of Jacob was bewailed, but the death of Stephen is celebrated.”²⁴ Hence we find in the eleventh-century Octateuch in the Vatican, for example, mourners pulling at their hair in the scene of the burial of Jacob (ms. gr. 747, fol. 71v.; see Figure 1.6).²⁵

A similar argument was applied to the mothers of the Holy Innocents. One anonymous homilist, in a vivid account of the Massacre of the Innocents, described the children’s mothers as follows: “They tore apart their tunics, they shook their locks in the air, they publicly exposed their breasts. . . they lacerated their chests with stones, they rent their cheeks like executioners.” The preacher went on to explain that the mothers lamented in this way because they did not yet have the knowledge of Christ’s death



Figure 1.5 Vatican Library, ms. gr. 1754, fol. 6r. *Penitent Monks*. Photo: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Archivio Fotografico.

and Resurrection.²⁶ In art, too, the mothers of the Holy Innocents lamented with more abandon than mourners in other New Testament scenes; in a miniature from an eleventh-century Gospel commentary in St. Petersburg (Public Library, ms. gr. 334), for example, they may be seen pulling at their hair and clothing.²⁷ These violent gestures were also depicted in the



Figure 1.6 Vatican Library, ms. gr. 747, fol. 71v. *The Burial of Jacob*. Photo: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Archivio Fotografico.

more public art of wall painting. A tenth-century fresco in the Old Church at Tokali Kilise, for example, shows one of the bereaved mothers tugging down on a strand of hair on each side of her face.²⁸

In the thirteenth century a significant change took place in Byzantine depictions of the death of Christ. For the first time in this context violent gestures of grief occur, such as the tearing of hair and clothes, even though such actions had been condemned by the Church as showing disbelief in the Resurrection. This change accompanies a marked increase in the number of female mourners in images of the Lamentation, as can be seen most dramatically at the end of the thirteenth century in the fresco of St. Clement's Church at Ohrid (Figure 1.2). In the Gospel text, only two female mourners are mentioned, the two Maries who, according to St. Matthew, sat "over against the sepulcher."²⁹ But in the

thirteenth-century fresco we find a great crowd of mourners, some of whom express their grief through violent gestures of the type that St. John Chrysostom and other ecclesiastics had censured. As we have seen, one of the women pulls down on her hair, while another tugs her locks so desperately that she has to be restrained by a companion standing behind her. Even the Virgin shows her abandon by allowing her long tresses of hair to be exposed outside her garment (Figure 1.3). Similar excesses of mourning can be seen in other late thirteenth-century and fourteenth-century portrayals of the *Threnos*. In the early fourteenth-century fresco at Gračanica we find another large group of lamenting women, two of whom pull at their hair (Figure 1.7).³⁰

Or again, we may take as an example the fresco of the Entombment of Christ in the Church of St. George at Staro Nagoričino, which was painted in 1316–1317.³¹ Here one of the crowd of mourning women accompanying the Virgin on the left is shown with her hands clenched on either side of her cheek, either pulling at her hair or her clothes. A similar change affected other Christological scenes that had previously been portrayed with more restraint. In the fresco of the *Koimesis* at Sopoćani, for example,

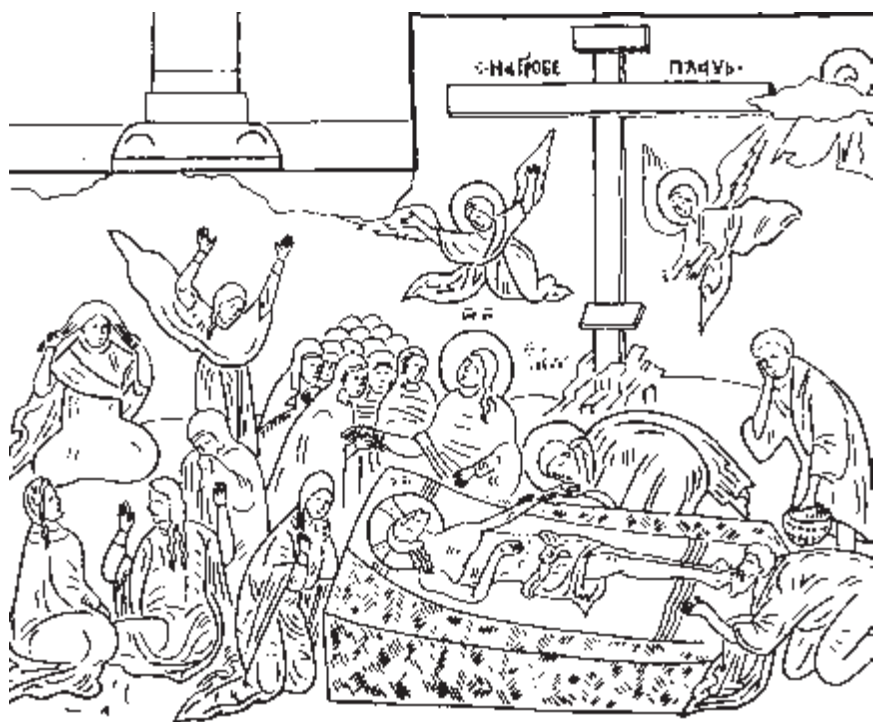


Figure 1.7 Gračanica, Church of the Koimesis, fresco. *The Lamentation*. Source: after B. Živković, *Gračanica* (Belgrade, 1989).



Figure 1.8 Sopoćani, Church of the Trinity, fresco. Detail of mourners from the *Koimesis*. Photo: Josephine Powell Photograph, courtesy of Special Collections, Fine Arts Library, Harvard College Library.

which dates to the third quarter of the thirteenth century, two of the female mourners who can be observed sitting on the rooftop at the left of the scene inflict violence on themselves: one pulls at her hair, while another draws her fingers across her cheeks, as if to scar them (Figure 1.8).³²

ENACTING LAMENT

This change in the iconography of late thirteenth-century and fourteenth-century Byzantine painting poses the following question: did the new way of

portraying female mourners in the *Threnos* and the *Koimesis* signal an accompanying change in the mourning rituals of everyday life in the thirteenth century? The answer is probably negative, for the very persistence of the Church's condemnations of excessive lamentation from the fourth to the twelfth centuries suggests that such practices had always continued uninterrupted.³³ There would have been no point in complaining so vehemently about practices that had gone out of use. We also have independent evidence to this effect from historians such as Anna Comnena, who speaks twice of violent displays of grief. Anna is critical of the charade that accompanied the feigned death of Bohemond, in which the "barbarians" pulled out their hair and simulated lament, but she also speaks of the mourners of her own father Alexios tearing at themselves and beating their breasts.³⁴ Therefore, we cannot say, on the basis of the iconography of the *Koimesis* and the *Threnos* in Byzantine art, that such practices were reintroduced into Byzantine ritual laments in the thirteenth century, because they had probably been there all along.

It is more likely that the appearance of violently expressive gestures of grief in Christological scenes in thirteenth-century art is due to a new attitude on the part of the Church that made such images acceptable. Increasingly in this period the reenactment of Christ's death in the liturgy and art became a focus for personal penance and contrition, through the spectator's participation in the drama. Two letters written by the Patriarch Athanasius I reveal how the liturgy was intended to unite the historical Passion of Christ with the personal experience of Christians in the early fourteenth century. Addressing the people of Constantinople during Easter week of 1305, the patriarch encouraged them to assemble at the Holy Saturday ceremonies "with appropriate contrition and fear and love and tears, so that we may quench tears with tears."³⁵ In another letter on the same subject, addressed to the emperor, he says: "your subjects . . . will witness with compassionate soul what was done by the men of that time through an inhuman and murderous impulse, and share the sorrow of the ever-Virgin Mother of God . . . and they should not simply depart, just as a spectator interested in watching divine spectacles, but should rather remain and 'bring precious ointments' [like the Holy Women] in the hope that they may [themselves] see the stone rolled away."³⁶ In other words, the patriarch urges that people should attend the services not just as "spectators," but as participants in the sacred events that were being celebrated.

What was true of services was also true of works of art. One of the poems attributed to the early fourteenth-century poet Manuel Philes shows how a contemporary painting of the Passion was expected to engage the emotions of the beholder as a participant in the story as well as its spectator. The poem is in the form of a dialogue between Christ and the beholder of the icon of his entombment. It begins with the viewer's lament, in the viewer's own words: "Alas! What is this event? Do even You die, my Christ, You who have given breath and the measure of life to all?"³⁷ In this instance we have the *beholder* of the painting, rather than the Virgin or one of the

Holy Women who were depicted, uttering the lament, and thus becoming a direct participant in the drama.

At this time, then, there was a breaking down of the divisions between sacred history and personal experience, which allowed sacred art and daily life to come closer together. It was this change in mentality that enabled the most extreme mourning rituals of the middle ages to be portrayed in scenes of the death of Christ and the *Koimesis* of the Virgin, from which they had previously been excluded.

I conclude by returning to the question that was posed at the start of this chapter: how useful is Byzantine religious art as evidence for the rituals of daily life? Our conclusion must be that the iconography of the *Threnos* and the *Koimesis*, at least, is not a good guide to the performance of contemporary rituals of lamentation in Byzantine society, but it is a much better guide to the changing responses of Byzantine viewers to their religious images.

NOTES

1. On the role of women in the mourning and commemoration of the dead, see Margaret Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1974); Sharon E. J. Gerstel, "Painted Scenes for Female Piety in Medieval Byzantium," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 52 (1998): 89–111, esp. 100–102.
2. Robert Ousterhout, *The Art of the Kariye Camii* (London and Istanbul: Scala, 2002), 58, fig. 48.
3. Charalambos Bakirtzis, *Byzantina Tsoukalolagena* (Athens: n.p., 1989), 93, pl. 40b.
4. For a general treatment of this topic, see Maria G. Parani, *Reconstructing the Reality of Images: Byzantine Material Culture and Religious Iconography (Eleventh to Fifteenth Centuries)* (Leiden: Brill, 2003). On the lack of reference to contemporary life in Byzantine religious painting, see also Cyril Mango, "Discontinuity with the Classical Past in Byzantium," in *Byzantium and the Classical Tradition: University of Birmingham, Thirteenth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies*, ed. Margaret Mullett and Roger Scott, 48–57, esp. 50–52 (Birmingham, UK: Centre for Byzantine Studies, University of Birmingham, 1981).
5. The question was explored by Sharon E. J. Gerstel in her paper "Ritual Swimming and the Feast of the Epiphany," in *Abstracts of Papers, Twenty-First Annual Byzantine Studies Conference, 9–12 November 1995, New York University and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City* (New York: Byzantine Studies Conference, 1995), 78.
6. Richard Hamann-Mac Lean and Horst Hallensleben, *Die Monumental-malerei in Serbien und Makedonien* (Giessen: W. Schmitz in Komm, 1963), 28–29, fig. 168.
7. *Acta Sanctorum Novembris IV*, ed. Hippolyte Delehaye (Brussels: Sociétés des Bollandistes, 1925), 696, translation in Alice-Mary Talbot, ed., *Holy Women of Byzantium: Ten Saints' Lives in English Translation*, vol. 1 of *Byzantine Saints' Lives in Translation* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1996), 266.
8. John 11:35.

9. In *Joannem homilia LXII*, in Jacques-Paul Migne, ed., *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series graeca*, vol. 59 (Paris: Migne, 1844–), cols. 347–348.
10. Migne, *Patrologia graeca*, vol. 31, cols. 229, and vol. 35, col. 928.
11. *Epistula CXIII*, in Migne, *Patrologia graeca*, vol. 99, col. 1380.
12. *Epistula CXV*, in Migne, *Patrologia graeca*, vol. 99, col. 1381.
13. *Enarratio in Evangelium Ioannis*, in Migne, *Patrologia graeca*, vol. 124, col. 100.
14. *Commentarii in Joannem*, in Migne, *Patrologia graeca*, vol. 129, col. 1348.
15. *Homilia XXV*, in Migne, *Patrologia graeca*, vol. 132, col. 532.
16. *Acta Sanctorum Novembris IV*, 693, translation in Talbot, *Holy Women of Byzantium*, 258–259. See, on this passage, Aleksandr Petrovich Kazhdan and Giles Constable, *People and Power in Byzantium: An Introduction to Modern Byzantine Studies* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1982), 74.
17. Maguire, “Depiction of Sorrow,” 126–132.
18. David C. Winfield and Ernest J. W. Hawkins, “The Church of Our Lady at Asinou, Cyprus,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 21 (1967): 262, fig. 2.
19. *Ibid.*, fig. 7.
20. Lydie Hadermann-Misguich, *Kurbinovo, Les fresques de Saint-Georges et la peinture byzantine du XIIe siècle* (Brussels: Éditions de Byzantion, 1975), fig. 74.
21. In *Joannem homilia LXII*, in Migne, *Patrologia graeca*, vol. 59, col. 347.
22. John R. Martin, *The Illustration of the Heavenly Ladder of John Climacus* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1954), 133, fig. 253.
23. *De imaginibus oratio II*, in Migne, *Patrologia graeca*, vol. 94, col. 1296.
24. *De imaginibus oratio I*, in Migne, *Patrologia graeca*, vol. 94, col. 1253.
25. Kurt Weitzmann and Massimo Bernabò, *The Byzantine Octateuchs* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999), fig. 586.
26. In *Herodem et infantes*, in Migne, *Patrologia graeca*, vol. 61, col. 702.
27. V. G. Pucko, “Dva fragmenta Konstantinopol’skih licev’ih rukopisej tret’ej četverti XI V. iz sobranija GPB (greč 334 i 373),” *Vizantijskij Vremennik* 31 (1971): 121–127, figs. 2 and 4.
28. Marcell Restle, *Byzantine Wall Painting in Asia Minor*, trans. Irene Gibbons, 3 vols. (Greenwich, CT: New York Graphic Society, 1968; repr., Shannon: Irish University Press, 1969), 1:111–112; vol. 2, fig. 85.
29. Matthew 27:61.
30. Gabriel Millet, *Recherches sur l’iconographie de l’Évangile aux XIVe, XVe et XVIe siècles d’après les monuments de Mistra, de la Macédoine et du mont Athos*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Editions E. De Boccard, 1960), 508, fig. 551.
31. Branislav Todić, *Staro Nagoričino* (Belgrade: n.p., 1993).
32. Hamann-Mac Lean and Hallensleben, *Die Monumentalmalerei*, 25–26, figs. 127–128.
33. Alexiou, *Ritual Lament*, 27–28.
34. Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, XI, 12, 2; XV, 11, 17; XV, 11, 20. Mourners are also described as making such gestures in the twelfth-century Byzantine romances. See, for example, the *Rhodanthe and Dosikles* by Prodromos, where a father grieving for his daughter tears his robe, cuts his hair, and scratches his cheek: *Rhodanthe and Dosikles*, in *Il romanzo bizantino del XII secolo*, ed. and trans. Fabrizio Conca (Turin: UTET, 1994), bk. 1, lines 206–209, 74.
35. *Epistula LIII*, in *The Correspondence of Athanasius I. Patriarch of Constantinople: Letters to the Emperor Andronicus II, Members of the Imperial Family, and Officials*, ed. Alice-Mary Talbot (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1975), 120.
36. *Epistula LXXI*, in Talbot, *Correspondence of Athanasius I*, 178.
37. E. Miller, *Manuelis Philae carmina* (Paris: n.p., 1857), 2:421 n. 62.

2 The Eve Fragment from Autun and the Emotionalism of Pilgrimage

Marian Bleeker

The twelfth-century image of Eve from the Church of St-Lazare at Autun remains among the most celebrated and the most enigmatic representations in the considerable corpus of Romanesque sculpture ([Figure 2.1](#)).

Stretched out horizontally within the space of a doorway lintel, Eve reaches one arm back to pluck the apple from the tree, and bends her other arm up to touch her cheek in a gesture that scholars have come to recognize as a conventional sign for grief or despair.¹ The movement of this gesture is repeated and reinforced by a thick piece of foliage that arcs up from the ground in front of her, bends to touch her wrist, and then curves back around her hand and behind her face. Both the grief gesture and the foliage frond call attention to Eve's face, which has been carved in high relief, and especially to her eyes. The heaviness of her eyelids along with the deeply drilled pupils make her eyes appear soft and even wet: indeed, a mark resembling a tear appears in the corner of one eye and reinforces the gesture's identification of Eve as suffering from grief and/or despair. This chapter posits a new interpretation for Eve's apparent emotional distress by discussing the sculpture in connection with the marble shrine dedicated to St. Lazarus that once stood within the apse of the church at Autun, and by studying both the sculpture and the shrine within the context of medieval pilgrimage practices.

Why is Eve so upset that she is apparently crying? This question has intrigued scholars for the past forty years. Karl Werckmeister saw Eve's emotion as the result of a conflation of different narrative moments: the Fall, represented by her plucking of the apple; Eve's subsequent shame and hiding from God, represented by the foliage around her body; and her grief over the expulsion from Eden, represented by her gesture.² For Werckmeister, then, the image of Eve, together with a sculpture of the Raising of Lazarus that originally appeared above her on the doorway's tympanum, formed an allegory of confession that identified this doorway as a penitential portal and associated the church with the performance of public penance. To make this argument, however, Werckmeister discounted Eve's apparent grief in order to identify her as an unrepentant sinner in an anti-theological relationship to the risen Lazarus, and so to match the images to the



Figure 2.1 Lintel fragment representing Eve from St-Lazare, Autun. Musée Rolin, Autun. Photo: Cancré/Wikimedia Commons.

text he took to be their source, Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Job*.³ Thus he wrote that Eve's emotion is only "an aimless consciousness of the disgrace of sin, which is not transcended by deliberate repentance."⁴

More recently, Linda Seidel has suggested that the sculpture is a conflation of Eve with St. Mary Magdalene, the former represented in the figure's nudity and her reach for the apple, and the latter by her prostrate posture, flowing hair, and apparent tear.⁵ For Seidel, this visual conflation creates a figure that is simultaneously unashamed and remorseful, which encourages belief in the possibility of repentance. The combination of Eve and Mary Magdalene would be particularly relevant for a church that was dedicated to the Magdalene's brother Lazarus and that claimed to possess his relics.⁶ Seidel's suggestion to take Eve's tear seriously as a meaningful component of the sculpture finds resonance in my own argument, which explores spatial, visual, and iconographical connections between the Eve sculpture and the Lazarus shrine, and identifies its viewers as pilgrims coming to revere Lazarus's relics and to partake, therefore, in a highly emotional experience.

THE EVE SCULPTURE AND THE LAZARUS SHRINE

Today the Eve sculpture from St-Lazare and fragments from the Lazarus shrine are displayed in Musée Rolin in Autun—both the transept doorway

of which the Eve was a part and the shrine were destroyed by the cathedral chapter in 1766 as part of a project to update the church's décor, and the remaining fragments were subsequently used as construction filler until they were recovered in the 1860s. Seeing either the doorway or the shrine thus requires an act of imaginative reconstruction. For the doorway, reconstruction is enabled by a text written in 1482 as part of an inquiry into the authenticity of the Lazarus relics held at Autun.⁷ Reconstructions of the shrine have been based on textual sources, on the surviving fragments, and on excavations undertaken within the church.⁸

Of the transept portal, the 1482 description states:

[I]n the tympanum there is the story of the resurrection of . . . St. Lazarus sculpted in large stone images; and below this story there are images of Adam and Eve; and on the upper part of the pillar which divides the wings of said portal, there is a small image in the shape of a bishop with a mitre, representing St. Lazarus, and below this there are some other images in the old style.⁹

The description thus identifies the subject matter of the sculptures formerly found in the various parts of the doorway—the Resurrection of Lazarus on the tympanum, Adam and Eve on the lintel, and Lazarus as bishop on the trumeau—but gives no real indication of the appearance of any of these elements. Based on the Eve fragment from the lintel, we may conjecture that Adam was most likely also stretched out in a horizontal position, the two perhaps arranged so that their heads met at the lintel's midpoint. The presence of a claw bending down the foliage behind Eve and maneuvering the apple into her hand suggests that there was a demonic figure behind Eve and perhaps a similar figure behind Adam as well.¹⁰ The appearance of Lazarus as a bishop on the trumeau may be the result of a conflation of the biblical figure with a fifth-century bishop of Aix-en-Provence, also named Lazarus, who was an early promoter of the biblical Lazarus's cult. This conflation may have led to the tradition that Lazarus and Mary Magdalene had preached and died in Marseille.¹¹

The shrine dedicated to Lazarus took the form of a miniature church with a nave, transept, and apse. It was located in the main apse of the church, immediately behind the high altar, so that its nave façade formed the altar's retable. The surviving fragments of the structure clearly demonstrate its rich ornamentation; made of multicolored marbles, its fluted pilasters are enriched with zigzag, curve, and crisscross motifs, its cornices and many of its capitals are carved into thick foliage forms, and other capitals bear monstrous masques and figurative sculpture.¹² Additional sculpted plaques were set into its exterior walls: a Crucifixion on the retable façade, and images of St. Mary Magdalene and St. Martha on its two transept façades.¹³ Doorways in the transept façades gave access to the interior space of the shrine, which held a sculpted tableau of the Resurrection of Lazarus. According to textual sources,

Lazarus was still in his sarcophagus, although its lid was raised by figures located at its four corners. At Lazarus's feet stood Christ, with his right hand extended to call the dead man out of his tomb. St. Peter was on Christ's right, with the keys in his hands, and St. Andrew was on his left. At Lazarus's head stood his two sisters, St. Mary Magdalene opposite St. Peter, and St. Martha opposite St. Andrew (Figure 2.2: reconstruction).

A descending passageway within the shrine allowed access to the relics of St. Lazarus, which were located in a cavity sealed with a red marble slab.¹⁴

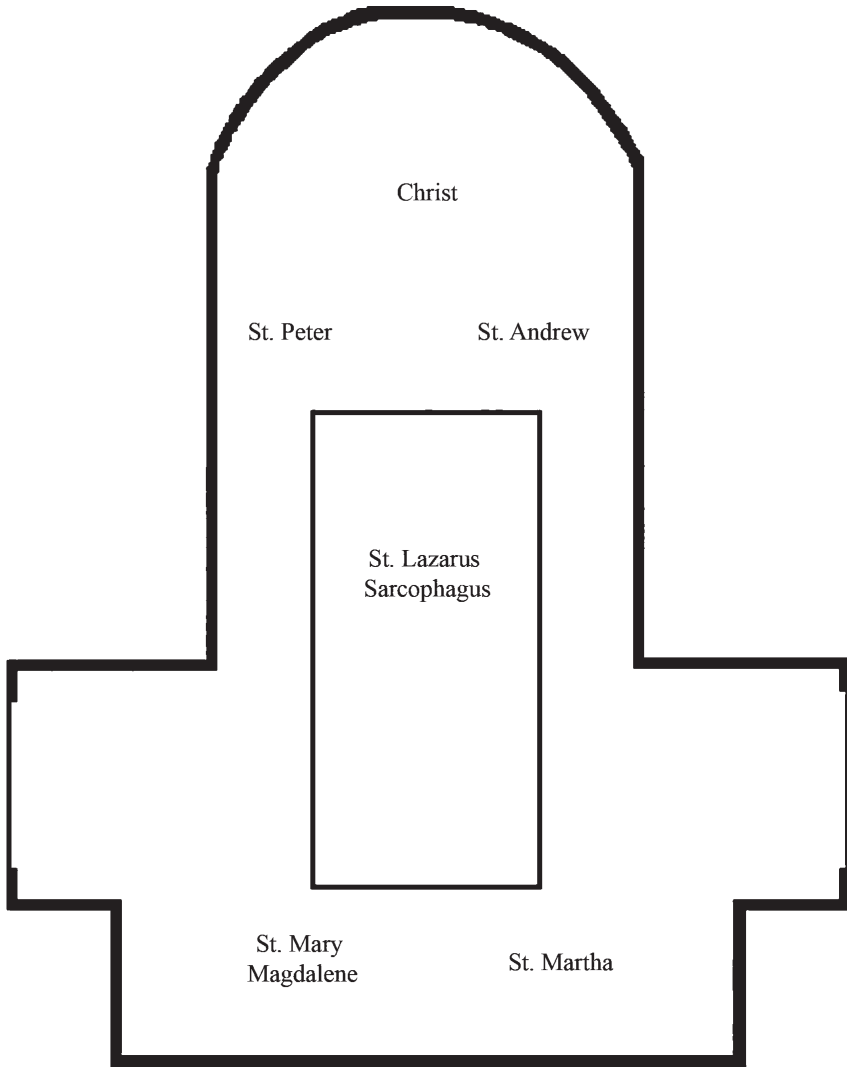


Figure 2.2 Reconstruction of the St. Lazarus shrine showing locations of sculptures. Based on the reconstruction in Gilles Rollier (2000), 126–138. Drawing: author.

The Eve sculpture and the doorway of which it was part were closely connected to the Lazarus shrine, first of all, spatially. This doorway, the church's eastern transept portal, was its main entrance. It faced an open space within the otherwise heavily built-up *castrum* of Autun, across which the main western nave portals of the town's cathedral church of St-Nazaire were located.¹⁵ Two points of explanation are necessary here. First, the church of St-Lazare has an unusual orientation, as its transept runs east-west with its apse extending to the south and its nave to the north.¹⁶ Secondly, although St-Lazare is now the cathedral church of Autun it was not so originally; it was consecrated in 1130 and the relics of St. Lazarus were translated into it in 1146–1147, but it did not gain cathedral status until 1195—and even then it shared that status with St-Nazaire, where the bishop's throne remained.¹⁷ Entering St-Lazare through the eastern doorway brings one into its transept and crossing area, immediately adjacent to the shrine's location in the apse (Figure 2.3: plan of the church).

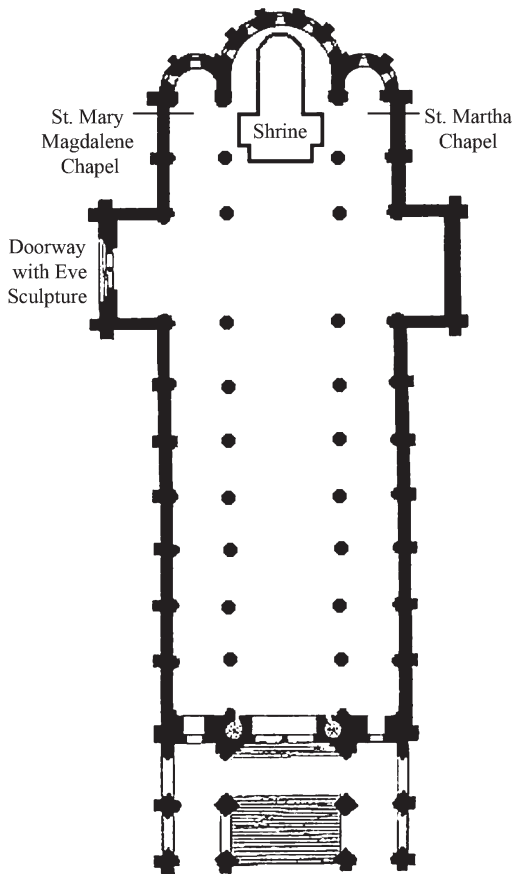


Figure 2.3 Plan of the church of St-Lazare showing location of the Eve sculpture and Lazarus shrine. Adapted from Eugène Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XI^e au XVI^e siècle* (1856), fig. 27. Shrine based on the reconstruction in Gilles Rollier (2000), 126–138. Drawing: author.

Visitors to the shrine would most likely have moved into the church's south-eastern chapel, now dedicated to the Virgin but originally dedicated to Mary Magdalene, and then entered the shrine through its eastern transept door (the shrine shares the church's unusual orientation).¹⁸ The act of entering the shrine would thus have repeated that of entering the church itself, encouraging visitors to associate the two entrances, and so to correlate Eve with the shrine and its sculptures.

The Eve fragment and the shrine's sculptures, moreover, share visual similarities. Both, for example, feature thick foliage motifs. The foliage fronds that curl around Eve's head are joined by three others that cross behind her body at the level of her breasts, in front of her pelvis, and before her ankles. On the shrine, foliage forms extended up pilasters, occupied column capitals, and sprouted on two major cornices.¹⁹ The two also apparently shared demonic motifs that appeared in close combination with these foliage forms. On the lintel, the surviving claw suggests the demon that once appeared behind Eve and maneuvered the fruiting foliage into her hand. The remains of the shrine include one pilaster in which foliage moves in and out of monstrous masques, as well as multiple capitals with similar masques that may have topped foliate pilasters and appeared in combination with foliate capitals.²⁰

Furthermore, the doorway and the shrine were linked iconographically. The Resurrection of Lazarus appeared both on the doorway's tympanum and within the inner space of the shrine. Both also closely associated a prominent female figure or figures with this scene, Eve on the doorway and Mary Magdalene and Martha on the shrine. Mary and Martha appear twice on the shrine, once on its exterior transept façades and again within its interior space. Mary Magdalene was most likely carved on the shrine's eastern façade, facing her chapel, and Martha on its western façade, facing the southwestern chapel dedicated to her.²¹ Indeed, if Seidel is right, the Magdalene appears for the third time within the sculptural ensemble of the church in the guise of Eve carved on the portal.

Finally, the Eve sculpture and the interior sculptures of the shrine are linked by their emphasis on the figures' expressive faces and gestures. The shrine's Christ figure, which has disappeared, was made primarily from painted stone, but his head and his outstretched right arm were made of white marble. These marble surfaces would have shone in the otherwise dimly lit space of the shrine and so called attention to his face and to his gesture of command. The surviving sculptures of the two female saints share Eve's heavy-lidded and outlined eyes with prominent pupils (Figures 2.4 and 2.5). Their brows are contracted as if in concentration or in consternation at the event they are witnessing. They also echo Eve's emphatic body language. Mary Magdalene raises both of her hands to shoulder height, perhaps in an *orans* gesture, or perhaps as an expression of shock or surprise at what she sees. Martha, likewise, raises one hand to her shoulder, but uses her other hand to press her garment to her nose and mouth. This accords with the scriptural description of the



Figure 2.4 St. Mary Magdalene sculpture from the interior of the St. Lazarus shrine. Musée Rolin, Autun. Photo: Foto Marburg/Art Resource, NY.

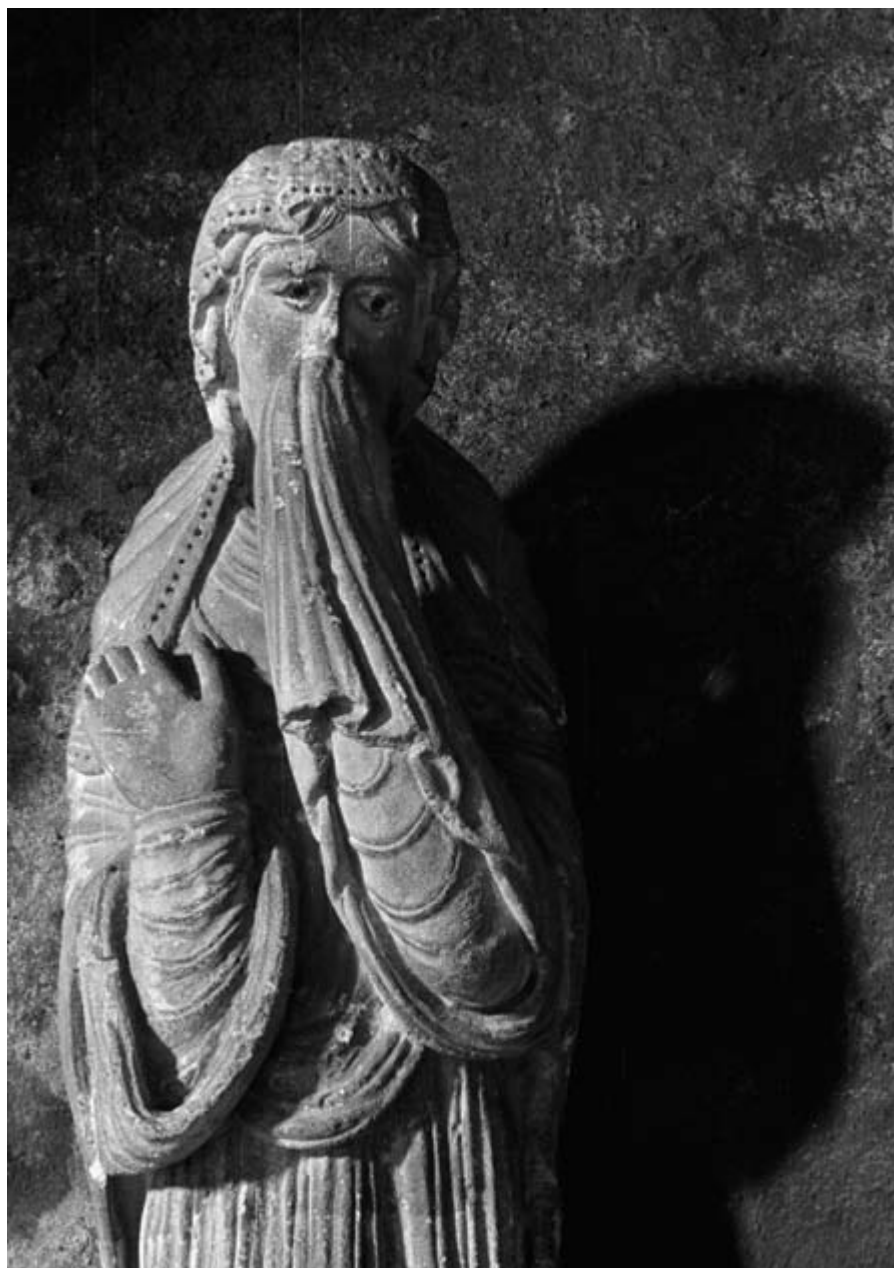


Figure 2.5 St. Martha sculpture from the interior of the St. Lazarus shrine. Musée Rolin, Autun. Photo: Foto Marburg/Art Resource, NY.

Resurrection (John 11:39), in which Martha is said to have covered her nose against the smell; however, the gesture can also read as a sign of stemmed grief, as Martha is wiping her face with her garment. A woman similarly expresses her grief by pressing her garment to her face in the scene of the death of Edward the Confessor in the Bayeux Tapestry (ca. 1080), as does St. John in the Crucifixion scene on the Klosterneuburg Altarpiece (ca. 1181). At St-Lazare, finally, Martha's gesture would have visually recalled Eve's gesture of grief.

Visual continuities between the sculpture of Eve and the images of female saints from the interior of the shrine would have played out in the dynamic of the viewers' movements and in their responses to the sculpted tableau inside of the shrine, which seems designed to elicit emotional reactions. Entering the shrine through its eastern transept portal would have brought visitors to stand alongside Mary Magdalene and opposite Martha.²² The visitors would thus have joined the sisters as witnesses to the event of their brother's resurrection. They would have seen the two female saints from close by and so would have been able to see the details of their faces and gestures. The saints' emotional reactions, of grief giving way to shock and surprise at the miracle before them, would have provided a model for the visitors' emotional reactions to what they saw. This experience would have been heightened for the beholders as they moved further in, taking the passageway that descended within the shrine, passed from its east to its west side, and then rose again.²³ Moving through this passageway brought visitors into close proximity with Lazarus's relics and it also allowed them to act out Lazarus's experience with their own bodies: they too descended, but only in order to rise again. The entire gamut of emotions suggested in the female saints' faces and gestures would thus have been made more immediate for each visitor, as if Mary and Martha reacted to his/her own demise and miraculous rise. This highly charged experience would have provided a context, finally, for beholders to recognize, retrospectively, Eve's emotional response as it mimicked their own.

PILGRIMAGE AND EMOTION

Many of the visitors to the church would have been pilgrims coming to venerate the relics of St. Lazarus: it appears that the very reason for St-Lazare's construction was to provide a grand setting for the shrine and for the relics it contained.²⁴ It seems likely that the cathedral clergy at Autun were hoping to develop the site as a major pilgrimage destination, perhaps in competition with the shrine of St. Mary Magdalene in nearby Vézelay.²⁵ Furthermore, both the shrine and the church refer to and map the Holy Land. Neil Stratford has argued that the inner shrine reproduced key aspects of the shrine at Lazarus's original burial place at Bethany, including

the use of marble for the chapel and tomb, the lowered passageway recalling an underground grotto, and the use of a red stone to mark the site of the relics.²⁶ Seidel has expanded on Stratford's points by arguing that the entire church points to the key sites of the Holy Land: she suggests, for example, that the locations of sculpted capitals throughout the church reproduce the geographical relationship between Jerusalem, Bethany, Bethlehem, and Bethel.²⁷ Interest in pilgrimage to the Holy Land was high in and around Autun in the century prior to the construction of St-Lazare. In 1024–1025 Autun was the starting point for a mass pilgrimage to the Holy Land; in 1083 Bishop Aganon of Autun himself made this pilgrimage; and a synod held in Autun in 1094 first proposed the armed pilgrimage or Crusade.²⁸ Lazarus's relics and the particular layouts of the church and the shrine would have allowed the pilgrimage to Autun to act as a substitute for Holy Land pilgrimage, a substitute that required less time, less trouble, and less money, and so was available to a larger number of people.

Pilgrimage to the Holy Land was a complex experience for medieval people, as it combined a serious religious undertaking with long-distance travel and so with contact with other peoples, other cultures, and other religions—most notably with Islam and the Islamic world. For many pilgrims, the religious side of the pilgrimage seems to have been an intense emotional experience. The most famously, or infamously, emotional Jerusalem pilgrim would have to be Margery Kempe (d. after 1438), the English laywoman who recorded her reactions to the holy sites in her *Book*. As the local friars led her group of pilgrims through the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, she “wept and sobbed as piteously as though she had seen our Lord with her bodily eyes suffering his Passion at that time.” Then, on the Mount of Calvary, “she fell down because she could not stand or kneel, but writhed and wrested her body, spreading her arms wide, and cried with a loud voice as though her heart would have burst apart.” At Jesus's empty grave, finally, “she fell down with her candle in her hand, as if she would have died for sorrow. And later she rose up again with great weeping and sobbing, as though she had seen our Lord buried right in front of her.”²⁹ In her *Book*, Margery presents these fits of crying as attracting the attention and frequently the disapproval of her fellow pilgrims. According to Margery, they asked her to restrain herself but she was unable to do so; some thought she was possessed, ill, or drunk; they did not want her to go to the Jordan River with them and they finally abandoned her in Venice.³⁰

However, other evidence suggests that Margery's emotional reaction to the holy sites was not as unusual as she presents it. The Dominican Friar Felix Fabri, in describing his pilgrimage of 1483–1484, writes:

Oh my brother! Hadst thou been with me in that court at that hour, thou wouldst have seen such plenteous tears, such deep heartfelt groans, such sweet wailings, such deep sighs, such true sorrow, such sobs from the inmost breast . . . that hadst thou a heart of stone it must have

melted, and thou wouldst have burst into a flood of tears together with the weeping pilgrims.³¹

These emotional reactions were apparently not new in the later Middle Ages when Margery and Fabri made their pilgrimages, for already in the late fourth century, according to the account of the Spanish pilgrim Egeria, during Good Friday services “everyone present was overwhelmed by emotion and the strongest men there could not contain their tears.”³² St. Jerome gives a similar description of his protégé Paula’s emotional reaction to the holy sites, writing that “[s]he threw herself down in adoration before the cross as if she could see the Lord himself hanging from it. And when she entered the tomb, she kissed the stone which the angel had rolled away . . . What tears she shed there, what sighs of grief, all Jerusalem knows.”³³

Over a thousand years separates Paula’s and Margery’s Holy Land pilgrimages, but their similarities suggest a remarkable continuity in the pilgrims’ strong emotional response. Indeed, the period between them can be bridged by the experience of Richard of St. Vanne during his pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1026–1027: his biographer writes that, upon seeing Calvary and imagining the Crucifixion taking place there, “he could no longer hold back his tears, and surrendered to the agony which he felt.”³⁴ One explanation for this continuity in pilgrims’ response to the holy sites may lay in the enduring circulation of earlier accounts, which set the expectation that later pilgrims, too, would have intensely emotional experiences. The continuing interest of Egeria’s account is suggested by the history of her text: it is known today from a copy made in the eleventh century, and in the twelfth century Peter the Deacon used it as a source for his account of the Holy Land.³⁵ Likewise, Felix Fabri reports preparing for his pilgrimage by reading everything he could find about the Holy Land.³⁶ If the pilgrimage to St-Lazare at Autun functioned as a substitute for Holy Land pilgrimage, then such an expectation to feel and act in a certain way would have been relevant to pilgrims’ experience of the church and the shrine it contained.

It is worth noting that these emotional reactions on Holy Land pilgrimage were frequently experienced by or at least attributed to women. Richard of St. Vanne provides an exception to this rule as does Felix Fabri, who describes pilgrims in general as having such experiences and suggests that his “brother” would react similarly. However, Fabri also calls special attention to female pilgrims’ emotional reactions, writing “above all our companions and sisters the women pilgrims shrieked as though in labour, cried aloud, and wept.”³⁷ Egeria similarly describes “everyone” as afflicted by emotion but then specifies that “even the strongest men” wept, which suggests that such tears were not typically expected from men, but were more typical of women. For women pilgrims to Autun in particular, therefore, the Eve sculpture may have provided a trigger for a gendered expectation of a strong emotional response. Such a response may have been extended by way of identification with the figures of Mary Magdalene and Martha

that appear inside of the tomb, who may have provided women with a special point of imaginative entry into the Lazarus story. Margery Kempe shows such a dynamics of identification at work in her strong emotional responses, explaining her sorrow as stemming from her identification with the Virgin; at Christ's grave "she thought she saw Our Lady in her soul: how she mourned and how she wept for her son's death, and then was Our Lady's sorrow her sorrow."³⁸ The Virgin Mary then suggests the Magdalene to Margery as a model for her own emotional responses, saying: "Nor was Mary Magdalene ashamed to cry and weep for my son's love. And therefore, daughter, if you will be a partaker in our joy, you must be a partaker in our sorrow."³⁹

Such a gendered reading also inflects the available direct evidence for the pilgrimage to Autun that construes the church and shrine as a healing site, and so identifies the pilgrimage as part of the process of a miraculous cure. By the twelfth century, Autun had long been a place of pilgrimage and of healing—for example, the tombs of the local saints Symphorien and Cassien had functioned as sites of miraculous cures since the early Christian period.⁴⁰ The relics of St. Lazarus began to perform healing miracles during their translation into the church of St-Lazare in 1146–1147, and continued to do so thereafter.⁴¹ A small collection of these miracles was developed beginning in the thirteenth century and used in the fifteenth century as evidence in a dispute between the churches of Autun and nearby Avallon over the authenticity of their respective Lazarus relics. The recorded miracles include the healing of Ursus, an archdeacon of Reims, from leprosy, as well as the cure of a possessed deaf-mute. Ursus apparently prostrated himself in front of the shrine, while the deaf-mute was placed inside of it, in the passageway that brought pilgrims close to Lazarus's remains.⁴²

This evidence identifies the church as a site of healing, but provides little information about how it functioned as such a site, and so this information must be extrapolated from studies of other, better documented, healing shrines. As Jonathan Sumption and Ronald Finucane have shown, such shrines were highly emotionally wrought environments. The sick, the disabled, and the possessed or insane gathered in the church, near the relics, waiting sometimes for days or weeks for a cure. Some were cured at home, after a vow to the saint, and then came to the shrine in thanksgiving and celebration. Both scholars encourage us to imagine the prayers, tears, moans, and shouts of both the sick and the cured.⁴³ Many of the pilgrims who came to such shrines were women, typically lower-class women from the local area.⁴⁴ As Leigh Ann Craig has demonstrated, women pilgrims were less likely to ask for cures for themselves and more likely to seek cures or give thanks for the cures of others, in particular the cures of their children.⁴⁵ Finucane has shown that children's illnesses and accidents and the cures that resolved them were frequently the occasion for displays of parental and especially maternal emotion.⁴⁶ While such reactions typically occurred at the site and in the moment of the illness, accident, or cure—and

many cures of children took place at home—the mothers' immediate emotional reactions were often recalled during their thanksgiving visits to the shrines, in these highly charged environments.⁴⁷

For women coming to St-Lazare as to a healing shrine, the Eve sculpture in particular may have recalled such emotional reactions—Eve, after all, was both the first mother and the first to come to grief over her children. The portal sculptures, furthermore, juxtaposed her grief with a miraculous cure in the tympanum image of the raising of Lazarus. Indeed, many of the miracles discussed by Finucane were understood as resurrections, either of stillborn infants to allow for their baptism or of slightly older children from apparent deaths caused by drowning and other accidents.⁴⁸ As the Adam sculpture from the lintel has disappeared, it is impossible to know if he too exhibited signs of grief and so provided a model of paternal emotion to match Eve's maternal reaction. Finucane's textual evidence shows that fathers sometimes exhibited emotion over their children's illnesses, accidents, and cures, but demonstrates such emotional displays to have been more common for mothers and so suggests a gendering of response.⁴⁹ Mothers coming to the Autun to ask or to give thanks for the revivals of their children may also have seen themselves in the Mary Magdalene and Martha images inside of the shrine, in the two women who witnessed and reacted to their brother's return to life. Visitors to the shrine stood alongside the two female saints while their male counterparts, St. Andrew and St. Peter, flanked Christ on the opposite end of Lazarus's tomb. While the female saints expressed emotion in their faces and gestures, Christ extended one arm in a gesture of command, Andrew pointed towards him, and Peter held the keys that are both his identifying attribute and a symbol of the church's power.⁵⁰ The images of these male saints were thus more closely associated with Christ than with the visitors to the shrine, and with divine power rather than with human response.

ROMANESQUE AND GOTHIC

Because of the close relationship between the Eve sculpture and the Lazarus shrine, the shrine's configuration provided a context for medieval visitors to recognize Eve's apparent emotion—either retrospectively, after their encounter with the shrine, or as an anticipatory trigger for an emotional reaction to travel to the Holy Land and/or to a miraculous healing. In making this argument, I am following Seidel's claim that, in order to tease out the many meanings this church held for medieval viewers, St-Lazare needs to be studied as a whole rather than as a collection of fragments, as has often been the case in modern scholarship on the church.⁵¹ Historiographically, the Eve sculpture and the inner shrine provide an example of such scholarly fragmentation. The two have been treated in isolation from one another as examples of different stylistic moments in the history of medieval

sculpture—Eve as part of the canonically Romanesque architectural sculpture of the church and the shrine as a proto-Gothic monument. Examining their separate treatments in the scholarship is thus revealing of the ways in which emotion has been part of the construction of periodization in the history of medieval art.

The architectural sculpture of St-Lazare, including the Eve lintel fragment, has been central to a scholarly approach to Romanesque sculpture that places emphasis on the person of the artist. Beginning with Denis Grivot and George Zarnecki's book on the church and its sculptures, St-Lazare has been celebrated for the apparent unity of its sculptural decoration, understood as the work of a single artist or at least a workshop dominated by one artist. That artist is typically identified as "Gislebertus," as that name appears in an inscription on the church's northern Last Judgment tympanum.⁵² In this discourse, emotion functions as an attribute of personal style, as driving the artist's creation of original and expressive forms. For Grivot and Zarnecki, the Eve demonstrates Gislebertus's "astonishing originality" in her "bold volume" and "plastic beauty."⁵³ The role of emotion in her creation is further specified by Meyer Schapiro, a leading figure in this approach to Romanesque art: "attracted by beauty of Eve . . . [the artist] represents the breasts with great affection, with love."⁵⁴ This reading of the sculpture focuses on a different emotion than that identified in this chapter, the sculptor's desire rather than Eve's despair, as driving the creation of the sculpture's form rather than shaping its meaning for its viewers. Developed in the mid-twentieth century, this approach to Romanesque art valued its often nonnaturalistic or abstract forms by way of analogy with modern abstract art as signs of artistic freedom.⁵⁵ It stands in contrast with an approach to the material that developed in the late nineteenth century and privileged iconographic content over visual form while emphasizing church control rather than artistic freedom. Werkmeister's work on the Eve sculpture is representative of this tradition, which continues to be strong in Romanesque sculpture studies and limits the attention given to issues such as emotion.⁵⁶

The Lazarus shrine is excluded from discussion of St-Lazare as the work of Gislebertus because an inscription on the surviving fragments from its western transept façade identifies it instead as the work of the monk Martin, produced during the episcopate of the great bishop Stephen. The dating of the shrine is complicated by the fact that twelfth-century Autun had two bishops named Stephen: Etienne de Baugé, in office in from 1112 to 1138–1139, and Etienne II, bishop in 1170–89.⁵⁷ Pierre Quarré argues for identifying the Etienne in the inscription as Etienne de Baugé based on its qualification of the bishop as "the great," for Etienne II had a relatively unimpressive career as bishop compared to his predecessor, who oversaw the construction of St-Lazare. Stratford argues for understanding the inscription as a posthumous reference to the first Etienne produced by his successor as bishop, his nephew Humbert de Baugé, who oversaw

the translation of Lazarus's relics into the new church in 1146–1147. Both scholars use stylistic comparisons with work at Vienne, in the Rhone Valley, and in later portions of the church of the Madeline at Vézelay to argue for dating the shrine and its sculptures to the 1140s.⁵⁸ Their stylistic arguments are reinforced by the visual relationships between the Eve sculpture and the shrine's sculptures identified in this essay. Indeed, as the church was apparently built to be a setting for the shrine it makes sense to consider the architectural sculpture and the shrine's sculptures together as parts of a single conception and design, even if they are the work different hands. Finally, even if they were both conceived and created separately, they were still experienced together by their medieval viewers.

On the other hand, scholars who would separate the shrine from the church and its architectural sculpture identify the bishop in the inscription as Etienne II and so establish an approximately fifty-year gap between it and Gislebertus's work (dated to approximately 1130–1146).⁵⁹ When dated to the later twelfth century, the shrine's sculptures have been read as proto-Gothic in two ways. First, the interior sculptures in their detachment from architecture—the two female saints were attached to the shrine wall only by their backs, while Christ and the two Apostles were fully independent from it—have been inscribed into the history of the development of the statue column, identified as a distinctly Gothic form, as part of a history of sculptures' emancipation from architecture.⁶⁰ Secondly, the shrine and its sculpture have been read in relationship to the development of devotional and liturgical sculpture, in the Gothic period, as fully three-dimensional and increasingly realistic or naturalistic forms. Thus Roland Recht identifies the sculpted ensemble of the shrine as a prototype for carved Deposition and Holy Sepulchre groups, which, as devotional images, were intended to elicit the viewer's emotional response to Christ's tortured body as a form of affective piety.⁶¹ For Recht, liturgical and devotional sculptures in their three-dimensional forms and with their emotional resonance stand in contrast to architectural sculpture as a two-dimensional tradition that demands an intellectual reading instead of an affective one. The Autun Lazarus shrine as proto-Gothic rather than fully Gothic seems to stand, for Recht, somewhere in between these two sculptural forms as he identifies its interior scene as a set of symbols for theological teachings on the relationship between sin and death, rather than as an emotionally compelling drama.⁶²

The separate traditions of scholarship on the Eve sculpture and the Lazarus shrine, therefore, demonstrate a series of binary oppositions at work in the construction of the periodization of medieval sculpture as Romanesque and Gothic: two-dimensional and three-dimensional; non-naturalistic (or abstract) and naturalistic (or realistic); architectural and devotional (or liturgical); symbolic and emotional; expressive and affective. Recognizing the close relationship between the Autun Eve and the Lazarus shrine demonstrates the degree to which such distinctions between Romanesque and Gothic have been overdrawn. Reading Eve in connection

to the shrine shows that Romanesque architectural sculpture had the capacity to be not only symbolically meaningful but also emotionally resonant.

NOTES

1. Otto Karl Werckmeister, "The Lintel Fragment Representing Eve from Saint-Lazare, Autun," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 35 (1972): 6.
2. Werckmeister, "Lintel Fragment," 3–7.
3. *Ibid.*, 12–21.
4. *Ibid.*, 25.
5. Linda Seidel, *Legends in Limestone: Lazarus, Gislebertus, and the Cathedral of Autun* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 103–104.
6. Seidel, *Legends in Limestone*, 105–109.
7. Neil Stratford, "Le Mausolée de Saint Lazare à Autun," and "Apéndice 1: recueil des sources pour l'étude du Tombeau," in *Le tombeau de Saint Lazare et la sculpture romane à Autun après Gislebertus* (Autun: Musée Rolin, 1985), 14, 131–132.
8. For varying reconstructions see Richard Hamman, "Das Lazarusgrab in Autun," *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 8–9 (1936): 135–137; Stratford, "Le Mausolée de Saint Lazare à Autun," 15–18; Gilles Rollier, "Essai de reconstitution du Tombeau: resultants et limites," in *Le tombeau de Saint Lazare et la sculpture romane à Autun après Gislebertus* (Autun: Musée Rolin, 1985), 42–103; and Gilles Rollier, "Nouvelles données sur le tombeau de saint Lazare à Autun," *Revue d'Auvergne* 114 (2000): 126–138.
9. Quoted in Werckmeister, "Lintel Fragment," 1.
10. For this reconstruction of the lintel see Werckmeister, "Lintel Fragment," 1–3.
11. Seidel, *Legends in Limestone*, 53; Joseph Décréaux, "Les reliques et le culte de Saint Lazare à Autun," in *Le tombeau de Saint Lazare et la sculpture romane à Autun après Gislebertus* (Autun: Musée Rolin, 1985), 117–119.
12. Stratford, "Le Mausolée de Saint Lazare à Autun," 15–16; Rollier, "Essai de reconstitution du Tombeau," 44–45, catalog numbers 1–347.
13. Stratford, "Le Mausolée de Saint Lazare à Autun," 15; Rollier, "Essai de reconstitution du Tombeau," 44–45, catalog numbers 348–355.
14. Stratford, "Le Mausolée de Saint Lazare à Autun," 17–18; Rollier, "Essai de reconstitution du Tombeau," 44–45.
15. Werckmeister, "Lintel Fragment," 22; Stratford, "Le Mausolée de Saint Lazare à Autun," 13; Seidel, *Legends in Limestone*, 3, 35–36, 49.
16. Scholarship often regularizes the church's orientation and so this doorway is often referred to as the northern portal. Stratford, "Le Mausolée de Saint Lazare à Autun," 13; Seidel, *Legends in Limestone*, 36.
17. Stratford, "Le Mausolée de Saint Lazare à Autun," 12–13; Seidel, *Legends in Limestone*, 35, 39–40.
18. Rollier, "Nouvelles données," 133–134.
19. Rollier, "Essai de reconstitution du Tombeau," pilasters catalog numbers 42–44, 94, 97 (which includes a figure in the foliage), capitals catalog numbers 4–6, 33, 41, 66–69, 74–5, 115, 118, cornice catalog numbers 173–206 and 230–258.
20. Rollier, "Essai de reconstitution du Tombeau," pilaster catalog number 21, capitals catalog numbers 11, 53, 79, 102, 116, 126, 129, 149.
21. Rollier, "Nouvelles données," 133–134.

22. I am relying here on Giles Rollier's most recent reconstruction of the inner shrine, which locates the two female saints against its northern wall, the transept close to this wall, and Christ and the two male saints in an extended apse area. See Rollier, "Nouvelles données," 135, figs. 7 and 9.
23. Again I am relying on Rollier's recent reconstruction, which places the passage as extending from one transept to the other and passing underneath the sculpted tomb. See Rollier, "Nouvelles données," 131–132, figs. 7 and 9.
24. Stratford, "Le Mausolée de Saint Lazare à Autun," 13; Seidel, *Legends in Limestone*, 7, 39–40.
25. Stratford, "Le Mausolée de Saint Lazare à Autun," 13.
26. *Ibid.*, 31–32.
27. Seidel, *Legends in Limestone*, 43, 46, 51, 154–157.
28. Jonathan Sumption, *Pilgrimage: An Image of Mediaeval Religion* (Totowa, NJ: Rowman and Littlefield, 1975), 119.
29. *The Book of Margery Kempe*, trans. Barry A. Windeatt (New York: Penguin Books, 1994), 104, 106, 107.
30. *Ibid.*, 105, 110–111.
31. Donald R. Howard, *Writers and Pilgrims: Medieval Pilgrimage Narratives and their Posterity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 43. On Fabri's account as providing context for Margery's reported experience, see Sylvia Schein, "Bridget of Sweden, Margery Kempe, and Women's Jerusalem Pilgrimage," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 14 (1999): 53; Leigh Ann Craig, "'Stronger than Men and Braver than Knights': Women and the Pilgrimages to Jerusalem and Rome in the Later Middle Ages," *Journal of Medieval History* 29 (2003): 169–170.
32. Sumption, *Pilgrimage*, 90.
33. *Ibid.*, 91.
34. *Ibid.*, 92.
35. On the transmission of Egeria's text, see George E. Gingras, "Introduction" to *Egeria: Diary of a Pilgrimage* (New York: Newman Press, 1970), 1, 16–17.
36. Howard, *Writers and Pilgrims*, 40.
37. Craig, "Stronger than Men," 169.
38. *Book of Margery Kempe*, 107. On Margery's identification with the Virgin while in Jerusalem, see Schein, "Bridget of Sweden," 53–54; Sarah Beckwith, "A Very Material Mysticism: The Medieval Mysticism of Margery Kempe," in *Medieval Literature: Criticism, Ideology, and History*, ed. David Aers, (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1986), 50–51; and Hope Phyllis Weissman, "Margery Kempe in Jerusalem: Hysterico Compassio in the Late Middle Ages," in *Acts of Interpretation: The Text in its Contexts, 700–1600*, ed. Mary J. Carruthers and Elizabeth D. Kirk (Norman, OK: Pilgrim Books, 1982), 210–213.
39. *Book of Margery Kempe*, 107. On Margery's strong identification with the Magdalene, see Schein, "Bridget of Sweden," 54; Theresa Coletti, *Mary Magdalene and the Drama of the Saints: Theatre, Gender, and Religion in Late Medieval England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 80–83.
40. Émile Thevenot, *Autun: Cité Romaine et Chrétienne: Histoire-Monuments-Sites* (Autun: Imprimerie-Librairie L. Taverne et Ch. Chandioux, 1932), 142–148.
41. See the account of the translation contained in M. Faillon, *Monuments inédits sur l'apostolat de Sainte Marie-Madeleine en Provence, et sur les autres apôtres de cette contrée Saint Lazare, Saint Maximin, Sainte Marthe, les saintes*

- Maries Jacobé et Salomé, etc. etc.*, vol. 2 (Paris: Ateliers Catholiques, 1865), document 50, 722.
42. In the context of the dispute over Lazarus's relics, Ursus's miracle was particularly valuable since he was an important individual and had come from a distance searching specifically for the relics of Lazarus. See Stratford, "Le Mausolée de Saint Lazare à Autun," 14.
 43. Sumpston, *Pilgrimage*, 77–83, 212; Ronald C. Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular Beliefs in Medieval England* (Totowa, NJ: Rowman and Littlefield, 1977), 9, 49, 69, 86–88.
 44. Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims*, 147–148, 163–164, 184–186.
 45. Leigh Ann Craig, *Wandering Women and Holy Matrons: Women as Pilgrims in the Later Middle Ages* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009), 18–19, 79–80, 92–93, 97, 114–119. See also Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims*, 106, 126–127, 139, 142.
 46. Ronald C. Finucane, *The Rescue of the Innocents: Endangered Children in Medieval Miracles* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 42–43, 55, 89–91, 152–158.
 47. Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims*, 88.
 48. For drownings, see Finucane, *Rescue of the Innocents*, 100–101, 106–109, 120–121, 138; other accidents include being run over by a plow (125), falling into a castle moat (126–129), and being run through by a spit (138–139).
 49. Finucane, *Rescue of the Innocents*, 154–158.
 50. Stratford, "Le Mausolée de Saint Lazare à Autun," 17; Rollier, "Nouvelles données," 135–136.
 51. Seidel, *Legends in Limestone*, 1.
 52. Denis Grivot and George Zarnecki, *Gislebertus: Sculptor of Autun* (New York: The Orion Press, 1961), 13, 19; see also Jean Wirth, *La Datation de la Sculpture Médiévale* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2004), 149. Linda Seidel has challenged the identification of "Gislebertus" with the artist; see Seidel, *Legends in Limestone*, 12–32, 64–78.
 53. Grivot and Zarnecki, *Gislebertus*, 177.
 54. Meyer Schapiro, *Romanesque Architectural Sculpture: The Charles Eliot Norton Lectures*, ed. Linda Seidel (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 157.
 55. Conrad Rudolph, "Introduction: A Sense of Loss: An Overview of the Historiography of Romanesque and Gothic Art," Seidel, "Formalism," and Colum Hourihane, "Romanesque Sculpture in Northern Europe," all in *A Companion to Medieval Art*, ed. Conrad Rudolph (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 26–27, 30–34, 107–111, 323.
 56. The foundation for this approach lies in the work of Emile Mâle; see his *Religious Art in France: The Twelfth-Century, a Study of the Origins of Medieval Iconography*, ed. Harry Bober and trans. Marthiel Matthews (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1978). For a critique of the iconographic approach to Romanesque sculpture, see Michael Camille, "Mouths and Meanings: Towards an Anti-Iconography of Medieval Art," in *Iconography at the Crossroads: Papers from the Colloquium Sponsored by the Index of Christian Art, Princeton University, 22–23 March 1990*, ed. Brendan Cassidy (Princeton, NJ: Index of Christian Art and Department of Art and Archeology, 1993), 43–54.
 57. Stratford, "Le Mausolée de Saint Lazare à Autun," 18.
 58. Stratford, "Le Mausolée de Saint Lazare à Autun," 18–29; Pierre Quarré, "Les sculptures du tombeau de saint Lazare à Autun et leur place dans l'art roman," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 5 (1962): 169–174.
 59. Grivot and Zarnecki, *Gislebertus*, 19; Roland Recht, "Le tombeau de saint Lazare à Autun: Synthèse du travail de Richard Hamman," in *Le tombeau*

de Saint Lazare et la sculpture romane à Autun après Gislebertus (Autun: Musée Rolin, 1985), 40.

60. Recht, "Le tombeau de saint Lazare à Autun," 40–41; on the column statue as a Gothic form, see Martin Büchsel, "Gothic Sculpture from 1150 to 1250," in *A Companion to Medieval Art*, ed. Conrad Rudolph (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 404–405.
61. Roland Recht, *Believing and Seeing: The Art of Gothic Cathedrals* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 196–215. Stratford by contrast compares the shrine's inner scene to eleventh-century liturgical art that include three-dimension sculptures in dramatic scenes; Stratford, "Le Mausolée de Saint Lazare à Autun," 28–29.
62. Recht, *Believing and Seeing*, 3–4, 215–218, 309–317.

3 Weeping Women

Social Roles and Images in Fourteenth-Century Tuscany

Judith Steinhoff

INTRODUCTION

Various forms of evidence demonstrate that medieval people have recognized the potential to control and manipulate crying, especially crying performed by women.¹ As other chapters in this volume demonstrate, context and motive are crucial to determining what the shedding of tears could mean in the Middle Ages.² In this chapter I explore the representation of grief in fourteenth-century Tuscan paintings of Christ's Passion. In particular, I am interested in the roles that women, both saintly and secular, play in these scenes. I am not simply concerned with tears of grief; rather, I interpret crying in its broadest sense as encompassing the various gestures, facial and bodily, that the medieval audience would have understood as expressions of sorrow. In examining visual imagery within the context of sumptuary laws that specify conduct at funerals, I will argue that both clearly distinguished between private and public grieving behaviors, and thereby helped to promote proper modes of mourning for trecento audiences. The *Lamentation*, painted by the Florentine artist Giotto di Maestro Stefano (called "Giotto") and recently dated ca. 1357–1359, serves here as an exemplar of devotional images that depicted and modeled both the well-established and the more personalized variations of socially sanctioned mourning behaviors for the viewers (Figure 3.1).

Throughout the Middle Ages, manifestations of grief were infused with complex religious as well as personal meanings. Numerous early Christian thinkers and writers, including Augustine, John Chrysostom, and Gregory of Nyssa, as well as Bernard of Clairvaux, William of Thierry, and Bonaventure in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries articulated strong views on the religious significance of tears and on the appropriate expression of lament.³ They all, in various ways, distinguished "true" tears, which attested to contrition, from the "excessive," unrestrained outpouring of emotions, which, they held, implied a disbelief in salvation.⁴ This view informs devotional imagery as well as religious plays and vernacular writings accessible to large audiences in the late medieval Christian West.⁵ In contrast to the restraint advocated in these sources, the behavior, writings, and images

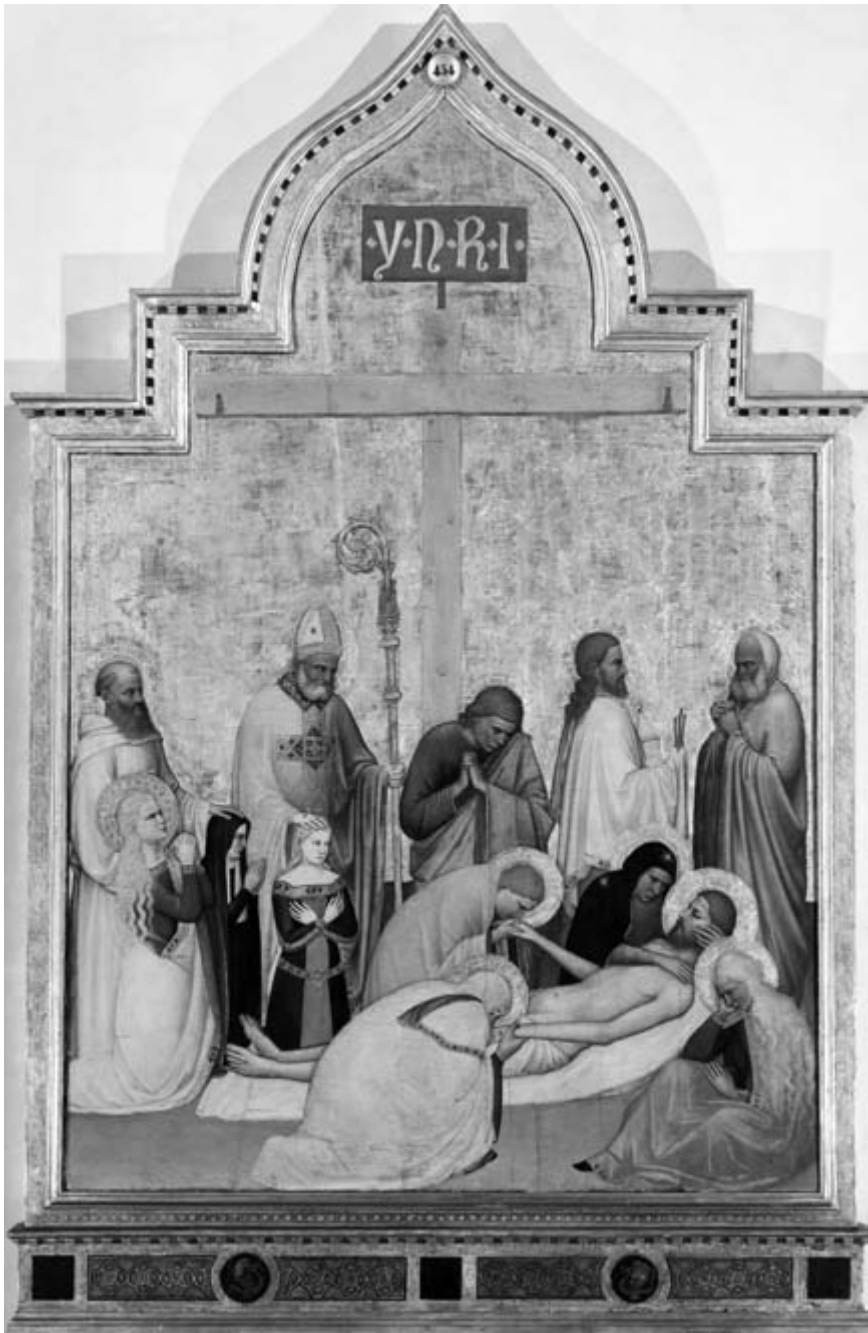


Figure 3.1 Giotto, *The Lamentation over Christ* (ca. 1357–1359). From the Church of San Remigio, Florence. Uffizi inv. 1890, no. 454. Photo: Scala/Art Resource, NY Art Resource.

connected with the rise of the experientially based mystical movements in the thirteenth through fifteenth centuries reflected a more positive understanding of medieval tears and grief.⁶ Thus Western medieval Christian culture, especially in the later periods, was shaped by inherently contradictory attitudes toward the significance and expression of strong emotions.

The expression of grief also had important, and equally conflicting, socio-political implications. This is especially apparent in the Italian city-states from the twelfth century on, as the emerging communal governments struggled to first establish and then maintain the rule of civil law. Along with direct challenges to the authority of the government, violent, loud, and other kinds of behaviors considered to be disruptive of harmonious civil life were treated as a threat to the commune.⁷ In this context, and in contrast to the more open, public grieving of both men and women in early medieval Italy, public expression of “excessive” emotion such as loud wailing and dramatic gesticulation was increasingly subjected to legal regulation. The earliest known sumptuary laws governing public expression of emotional behavior at funerals are those from Lombardy, which date to ca. 1210. Those of other Italian communes mostly appear in the second half of the thirteenth century. By that time, loud, public lament was associated primarily with women, as is reflected by a shift in the records of censure.⁸ That mourning was largely performed by women is also evident in the famous letter Petrarch wrote to Francesco da Carrara, lord of Padua, in 1373 on “How a ruler ought to govern his state.” The civility of a society, he complained, was compromised by “roaming pigs and the public mourning of women.”⁹ Petrarch called on Carrara to restrict women’s “loud and uncontrolled shrieks” and to “order that no women should set foot outside her house” but should weep instead only behind closed doors. At the time Petrarch wrote, his recommendation may well have already been the law in his native Florence, as it was in Siena. Another rationale for laws specifically restricting women’s behavior was the belief, following Aristotle, that women were congenitally unable to control their strong emotions.¹⁰ Thus, both the heightened desire for law and order by the city-states and the Aristotelian notion that women could not control themselves may have helped to justify government control over women’s roles in the public life of the Tuscan republics.¹¹

Over the course of the fourteenth century, Tuscan women were increasingly relegated to a secondary role in funerary processions and other public aspects of burial rituals, and by the fifteenth century were excluded from them altogether.¹² Women’s roles in preparing the body and lamenting the loss of the deceased in the privacy of the home and chapel, however, continued to be viewed as essential both to the society and to the deceased’s attainment of salvation. Wives were responsible for regular prayer to ensure that a husband who went first to Purgatory could eventually transit upwards, and women in general bore a large part of the responsibility for the salvation, commemoration, and religious education of their families.¹³

The conflict concerning emotions and women in medieval clerical and civic thought also manifests itself in images of grief. Much as women were banned from trecento Tuscan funeral processions in the streets of their cities, the same boundaries were apparently maintained in publicly visible images, and it is extremely rare to find representations of women engaged in grieving for their dead.¹⁴ Widely accessible images of mourning over the death of Christ, however, became increasingly popular in connection with the rise of the cult of the Passion during this same period. I suggest that such images, particularly the Lamentation and Entombment, could, and indeed were intended to, influence their audiences' attitudes and behaviors. This influence, I contend, served not only religious but also civic concerns about expression and appropriate channeling of intense emotions, such as grief.

An intriguing and relatively large body of images of the Lamentation that features an unusually strong female presence offers especially fruitful material for this investigation. These expanded female populations include characters mentioned neither in such principal textual accounts as the Gospels, Johannes de Calibus's *Meditations on the Life of Christ* (1346–1364), and Jacobus de Voragine's *Golden Legend* (compiled ca. 1275) nor in such vernacular traditions as religious theater. Many of them include not only female saints, but also one or more secular women dressed in garments of the period. Most of these figures can be identified as donors, whose presence served a votive purpose, expressing an individual or group's devotion to a religious theme or to particular saints. Undoubtedly, the depiction of the known world and the local community in images of Christ's life also enhanced the accessibility to the faithful public. By positioning saintly and secular women together in scenes of great sorrow, such images additionally served as especially clear reminders and models of socially acceptable forms of female grief. In this chapter I will refer only minimally to the religious perspectives on grief and its expression, and concentrate instead on the relationships between representations of grief in religious imagery and in secular documents, especially the sumptuary laws governing the conduct of funerary rituals in Siena. My thematic focus may thus be described as what Allison Levy called the "socio-political re-orchestration of public grieving" in trecento Tuscany.¹⁵

THE LITERATURE ON GRIEF AND EMOTION IN MEDIEVAL ART

As Ernst Gombrich noted in his review of Moshe Barasch's book, *Gestures of Despair in Medieval and Early Renaissance Art* (1976), emotion had not previously been a subject of intensive study by art historians.¹⁶ Barasch's study thus marked an important change in art historical inquiry, as did a second major treatment of emotional expression in art, a lengthy article by Henry Maguire on "The Depiction of Sorrow in Middle Byzantine Art" (based on his 1973 dissertation for Harvard), which was published in the following year.¹⁷ These works, along with Barasch's 1987

book, *Giotto and the Language of Gesture*, remain the most extensive discussions of the representation of emotion in medieval art to date.¹⁸ Interestingly, the two authors adopted similar theoretical and methodological approaches. Both focused their analysis on the specific gestures in Passion images that enabled viewers to recognize the characters' sorrow and suffering. They also emphasized the conventionalized character of emotional gestures in medieval art prior to the thirteenth century and compared visual and textual depictions of grief in the cultures they studied. Both scholars identified Antiquity, which Eastern and Western Christian cultures each could claim as their inheritance, as a crucial source for medieval gestures of sorrow in medieval art, while citing early Church writers as a force for restraint compared to the violence of emotion depicted by ancient artists.

The question raised by Maguire that has so far been most widely addressed by scholars of Italian Gothic art is the impact of the Byzantine depictions of sorrow on the art of the West.¹⁹ A striking conclusion of Maguire's study that has received less attention, at least in studies of Western art, is that Byzantine art prior to the thirteenth century was more conservative in its representation of emotions than the texts, which the images sometimes accompanied.²⁰ In addition to its historical interest, this observation highlights the rhetorical nature of both visual and literary forms as well as differences in their nature and function. Another idea advanced by Maguire with substantial implications particularly for art history is that the formulaic character and limited array of means for conveying emotion in Byzantine art did not necessarily diminish the audience's emotional responsiveness to those images.²¹

Like Maguire, Barasch also found a greater reserve in the expression of sorrow in earlier, rather than in later, medieval art. Indeed, in the article entitled "The Crying Face" (1987), Barasch contended that it was not until the fifteenth century, and specifically in Flemish painting, that the visual portrayal of actual tears was introduced.²² Despite the criticisms of overinterpretation and erroneous readings of specific gestures or their meanings, Barasch's work continues to be widely read and cited today. Indeed it not only offers much erudite information about the visual and ritual traditions behind gestures in art, but it also raises a number of theoretical issues that remain of scholarly concern, especially for interdisciplinary scholarship on medieval emotions. While Barasch was often accused of oversimplified readings and of claiming absolute meanings for the gestures he studied, in fact he openly acknowledged the mutability and potential for multiple meanings of individual gestures, according to their context. In stressing the rhetorical, conventional character of gestures in medieval art, which he contrasted with the more "spontaneous" emotionality of their ancient antecedents, Barasch also implicitly raised the question of whether it is possible for us to accurately identify the emotions of another culture or to distinguish "genuine" from formalized

expressions of emotion in any medium. One of the reviews of *Giotto and the Language of Gesture*, written by Andrew Ladis in 1992, is particularly noteworthy for directly addressing another issue central to the reading of emotions in medieval art, namely the relationship between the history of art and social history.²³ Barasch's contention that Giotto drew gestures not from nature but primarily from convention, as Ladis noted, "fashions nothing less than a new conception of the painter." Acknowledging Giotto's probable awareness of the social and religious conventions of his time, Ladis nevertheless maintained that only the painter's individual artistic genius and keen observation of nature can explain the emotional power of his art. This, indeed, has been and to some extent continues to be the bias of much trecento art history. Maguire's conclusion that Byzantine audiences responded affectively even to highly stylized gestures, however, suggests that artistic personality must itself be viewed within a specific cultural context, and this has become a widely accepted concept in many recent trecento art studies.

Since the publication of Henk van Os's book on Sienese altarpieces (1984) a major thread in the literature on Italian trecento art has been to consider Italian imagery in relation to its devotional function.²⁴ In 1990, Hans Belting published an extensive study of the depiction of suffering in images of Christ as the Man of Sorrows, an iconic image invented in the early fourteenth century in the context of growing movements for personal piety.²⁵ As Anne Derbes (1996) reminds us, however, a new direct depiction of emotion first entered Italian painting in the mid-thirteenth century, with the appearance of the Suffering Christ on the Cross, or "Christus Patiens," an image that "must have seemed almost unbearably graphic to the first observers."²⁶ In contrast to Belting, Derbes takes narrative representations as her subject, and, in addition to reaffirming the importance of Byzantine art for Italian painting of the period, makes a critical contribution to our understanding of the role played by the Franciscan Order in the heightened emotionality of medieval Italian images.

A somewhat separate trend within Italian medieval art history has been to investigate the interactivity of images with their religious, social, and political contexts. Emotional and gendered responses, however, have rarely been examined. While much excellent work has been done on gendered patronage of trecento tombs and other artistic forms, most of these studies focus on women's patronage in the context of their social status.²⁷ It is primarily in studies of northern European tombs and imagery that we find parallels with the growing scholarship on emotions in literary and gender studies, and the investigation of art in relation to social rituals and attitudes.²⁸ Collectively, such works reaffirm the general absence of mourners and of the representation of grief I have also found in Italian medieval funereal monuments.²⁹

Laura Jacobus is one of the few trecento scholars to explicitly analyze Italian medieval expressions of grief, not, significantly, in funereal imagery

but rather in the depiction of the Massacre of the Innocents in thirteenth-century Italian art and drama.³⁰ Comparing the representations of the mothers' grief in the massacre with the extreme behaviors associated with women's performance of grief in death rituals in medieval Italy, Jacobus identifies multiple influences on the rendering of the subject—theological and humanist as well as social.³¹

GRIEVING IN PAINTING

My aim, therefore, is to advance our understanding of the gendered representation of grief in trecento painting as well as to explore the relationship between visual and other, especially legal approaches to that emotion, by focusing on Giotto's *Lamentation* (see [Figure 3.1](#)). The painting, now in the Uffizi (inv. 1890, no. 454), originally hung in the small parish church of San Remigio, where it may have been displayed on the *tramezzo* separating the choir from the congregational space.³²

Giotto follows the gospels in placing the Virgin, the Magdalene, the Magdalene's sister Martha, John the Evangelist, Nicodemus, and Joseph of Arimathea at the scene. Like many other painters of the subject of his time, Giotto also integrated two female saints, to be identified in the following, who were not recorded in the major textual sources for the event. He additionally incorporated characters related to the specific context of the commission: St. Benedict, identifiable by his white habit, and St. Remigius, the late fifth-century French bishop saint, baptizer of King Clovis I of the Franks, and titular of the church for which the work was made.³³ Additions to the standard cast of saintly characters are not uncommon in trecento painting, however. More remarkable is the presence of two female donors positioned as if participating in the scene and, unusually, painted almost on the same scale as the saints around them. The differentiated behaviors performed by these two groups of female figures, I argue, constituted visual signifiers of distinct modes of female grieving behavior that would have been readily understood by their trecento audiences.

Before looking at these lay women and their roles in this image, we will first examine the women saints and their grieving gestures. As always, it is easy to identify the Virgin Mary, not only by her garb (dark blue mantle and red robe), but also by the way she cradles her son and gazes sorrowfully at his face. Mary Magdalene sits in the foreground in a vermilion robe with her face, reddened from crying, in her hand. While no actual tears roll down her face the coloring of her skin is a remarkably poignant, naturalistic way of evoking her weeping.³⁴ Giotto's highly naturalistic rendering of the Magdalene's grief is a departure from the traditional dramatic gesture of raised arms.³⁵ The painter thereby translates the salvific significance of Christ's death into a highly personal experience that must have been genuinely moving to the trecento viewer. On the other hand,

the especially deeply sorrowful characterization of the Magdalene here is consistent with the Church's portrayal of her as the model penitent. In addition, the Magdalene's posture, her head bent and resting in her hand, derives from well-known ancient depictions of the grief-stricken.³⁶ Giotto may have chosen this conventional gesture simply to help emphasize the Magdalene's great sorrow; at the same time, it effectively sets her apart from the others and underscores her traditional association with the contemplative life. Thus, the tremendous power of Giotto's image lies in his ability to seamlessly integrate the conventional gesture and the evocation of intimate human feelings.

St. Martha, the Magdalene's sister, is often dressed in mauve in trecento paintings, and we may assume that she is the one bending over to tenderly kiss Christ's right hand. Another female saint, completely covered in a yellow garment, kneels in the foreground and bends low to grasp and kiss Christ's left hand. Her posture, like Martha's, encodes both great reverence and intense grief. The diagonal alignment of her body with the front picture plane directs our gaze to Christ and in this way draws us into deeper engagement with those who grieve over him. Giotto also includes in this scene a fifth female saint, who kneels at Christ's feet, her fingers tightly interlaced and her face, with closed eyes, lifted slightly upward as if in fervent prayer. Like Mary Magdalene, this saint also has long, wavy, free-flowing hair. She has not previously been identified but it is notable that she both occupies the specific position and conveys a dramatic intensity often associated with the Magdalene. We may reasonably hypothesize that she is Mary of Egypt, whose life in the Jordanian desert was compared or even confused with Mary Magdalene's.³⁷ The loosened hair of these two saints is a familiar attribute that would help to identify them in any representation.³⁸ Although a woman's unbound hair referenced a rich tradition of social symbolism going back to Biblical and Greco-Roman times, and it could signify a multitude of feelings and behaviors, including those with sexual connotations, the most relevant possibilities in the context of the Lamentation are as signs of humility, religious devotion, reverence, and grieving.³⁹

A brief comparison with another Florentine trecento image of lament helps establish common elements in depictions of holy women grieving as well as the individual variations within those shared parameters. About 1340, Taddeo Gaddi painted a fresco of *Christ's Entombment* (Figure 3.2), in an explicitly funereal context, the family burial chapel of the Bardi di Vernio family in the church of Santa Croce, occupying the niche tomb or *avello* of Monna Tessa, wife of Gualtieri dei Bardi.⁴⁰

Here the Virgin Mary is more demonstrative than in Giotto's painting, pressing her sorrowful face to her son's forehead. Mary Magdalene is also easily identified by her traditional depiction with long, loosened reddish hair and red garment. Like his version of the Virgin Mary, Gaddi's Magdalene is more emotive than Giotto's. Her hands, raised just to shoulder level, represent a multivalent gesture of reverence and strong emotion. In turn, Taddeo's Martha (here dressed in green rather than mauve), her loosened



Figure 3.2 Taddeo Gaddi, *The Entombment of Christ with Monna Tessa dei Bardi* (ca. 1340). Bardi di Vernio Chapel, Church of Santa Croce, Florence. Photo: author.

hair hanging freely outside her hood, shows strong emotions in her bent posture, the gesture of the kiss, and by her furrowed brow.

A fourth female saint in Taddeo's fresco, hooded in dark red, peers at Christ over the Virgin's shoulder. Her grief is revealed in her face, especially in her sunken, narrowed eyes and the forked lines above them. The dark red color as well as the wrapping of her head in a thick white veil suggests this may be St. Anne, the Virgin's mother and an important saint in Florence, but she has not yet been definitively identified. In both Giotto's and Taddeo's paintings, the laywomen can be identified as the donors who commissioned the painting by their humble postures, contemporary dress, and smaller scale (Figure 3.3).

The two female donors included in Giotto's *Lamentation* may have been members of the Pepi family, who resided in the neighborhood and were major patrons of the church from the early fourteenth century onward.⁴¹ It is reasonable to imagine that these two women were a primary, but not exclusive, audience for this image. The large scale of Giotto's painting (195 x 134cm), especially in the small church, and its prominent placement make clear that it was not intended exclusively for private devotion, but was also contemplated by the entire congregation (Figure 3.4).



Figure 3.3 Donors (detail of [Figure 3.1](#)), Giotto, *Lamentation*.

This was not as small an audience as one might suppose today. While San Remigio sits in a small *piazzetta*, it lies in the neighborhood of the main Franciscan church of Florence, Santa Croce, and in the late Middle Ages it boasted many prominent Florentine families as congregants, among them a branch of the Alberti, the Aldighieri, Bagnesi, and Gaddi families.

The contrast in posture and comportment between the lay and the holy women in the painting is striking (see [Figure 3.1](#)). The young blonde woman who kneels just behind Christ's extended legs is marked as especially important both by her proximity to Christ and by her nearly frontal presentation. She is elegantly attired in a two-toned gown with a lavishly decorated neckline and gold buttons down the sleeves. A golden belt with a large round buckle is slung low on her hips. Significantly, the main portion of her dark gown is either black, the color of mourning in the fourteenth century as it is today, or perhaps *perso*, another accepted color for mourning clothes that was described by Dante as a mix of purple and black.⁴² Donor figures rarely wear mourning attire, but a plausible explanation is that the young woman grieves not only for Christ but also for a loved one, recently deceased. If such is the case, her goal would have likely been the salvation not only of herself but also of the relative she mourns. The young woman's medium-length hair falls neatly behind her shoulders. Her uncovered but carefully combed hair reflects the custom for unmarried women, while it also embodies decorum in contrast to the long, free-flowing hair of the two most demonstratively grieving female saints.

St. Remigius rests his hand firmly on the young woman's head, in a gesture that traditionally signifies his special favor and recommendation of



Figure 3.4 Church of San Remigio, Florence (interior).

a suppliant to the holy assembly. In many cases this bond between saint and donor indicates a particular devotion or the fact that the donor was named after the saint. Alternatively, the close relationship between the two could simply reflect the family's commitment to the saint's church and the woman's role in commissioning Giotto's painting.

Kneeling beside the young woman is another woman, dressed in the black habit and white veil of a Benedictine nun, who receives the protection of St. Benedict himself. Shown in profile, her hands clasped gently in prayer, she appears to be gazing not so much at Christ but at her companion. Neither woman's face betrays emotion. In addition, the Benedictine's prayerful gesture is notably looser and calmer than the tight, fervent grip of St. Mary of Egypt immediately to the left. The blonde woman, too, demonstrates restrained behavior rather than deep sorrow in crossing her arms on her chest. This gesture has often been taken to signify humility, but it could also represent grief. Its meaning here is somewhat ambiguous as the emotional tone is all but eliminated by the delicacy of the young woman's gesture, the lack of tension in her upright form, and the serenity of her face.

The donatrix in Gaddi's image, Monna Tessa, is not embedded within the scene in the same way as the donatrices are in Giotto's work; instead, she appears to rise up from her own tomb, which was placed below the fresco, as if witnessing the event. Yet Monna Tessa's presence makes a strong impression on the viewer and is an important key to the image's iconography. In sharing in Christ's suffering and the lament of those around Him, Monna Tessa pleads not only for her own salvation, but also for that of her female descendants, who were later buried in the same chapel.⁴³ Like Giotto's donor women, Monna Tessa is also distinguished from the holy women, by the restraint—indeed, by the distinct lack of emotion—of her entire bearing.

GRIEF AND THE LAW

Several different types of textual sources describe and prescribe women's grieving behavior in trecento Italy in ways similar to the depiction of mourning in paintings. The thirteenth-century writer Boncompagno da Signa noted that loud crying and "lacerating of the face, rending of garments, and pulling of hair" were part of Tuscan mourning practice.⁴⁴ As we have seen, Petrarch complained about such displays of grief in public. Other textual accounts of mourning rituals in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Florence also describe highly emotional behavior on the part of women, and in very similar words, but locate it strictly in the house of the deceased.⁴⁵ Such behavior was not associated uniquely with Florence, but also with other Italian cities.⁴⁶ Christine de Pizan, writing in the early fifteenth century, offered a particularly intimate description of widows wailing, twisting their hands, and tearing their hair and clothes, which attests to the perpetuation of these behavioral traditions as well as concerns about decorum.⁴⁷

Although Giotto's version lacks such violent gestures of despair, many contemporary images of the Lamentation and Entombment depict the extreme and self-immolating gestures described in the texts, and portray at least one holy woman with her hands stretched up toward the heavens howling in grief.⁴⁸ While only two of the female saints in Giotto's image have let their hair fall down their shoulders and back, the loose, uncontrolled hair is as common for the depiction of the holy women who mourn over Christ as it is in the written accounts of contemporary funeral custom.

Yet both the images and texts such as Petrarch's must be approached cautiously, as scholars have often noted that both are shaped by ideas that may not reflect life as much as the goals of a specific interest group. One such case is the group of texts (most numerous in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries) that ostensibly describe the attributes of specific cities, but demonstrably employ many of the same tropes as well as hyperbole to extol the city and lay claim to its superiority in the name of civic pride. As I have argued elsewhere, the visual cityscapes that gained popularity at the same period were similarly simultaneously descriptive and idealizing.⁴⁹ Historians have also analyzed the formulaic aspects of some of the most well-known "chronicles" of medieval Florence and Siena, most famously Giovanni Villani's highly emotional description of the effects of the Black Death of 1348, which is still often mistaken for a direct eyewitness account. The comments of Boncompagno da Signa cited earlier provide a particularly clear exemplar of the need for caution in respect to female grieving. While he was a native of the Florentine *contado*, and could well have been describing customs he had witnessed, Boncompagno was also a professor of rhetoric at the universities of Bologna and Padua and was thus well versed in both ancient rhetoric and the rhetorical strategies of his own time.

It is all the more significant, therefore, that the surviving sumptuary statutes governing the conduct of funerals address the very practices described in the textual accounts and depicted in the paintings. The fact that the laws were written and carried penalties implies that the behaviors they attempted to restrict occurred on a regular basis. Restrictions are primarily directed at women, who, they suggest, were most in need of regulating. The sumptuary laws from Siena can be traced back to the *Charta Bannorum* of 1249, and by the fourteenth century developed into the most comprehensive and precise known.⁵⁰ Surviving fragments of laws from Florence and elsewhere show that those of Siena were more exhaustive in detail but not unusual in their principles. The Sienese statutes were expanded and elaborated until, in 1343, the *Statuto del Donnaio* stipulated minute details of funerals, from the ritual ceremonies to the external expressions of grief, as well as of the observance of various anniversaries of death, specifying everything from the number and size of candles to the types of fabric and elements of clothing. Further modifications were added after the plagues of 1348 and 1363.

Most importantly for this study, the regulations addressed precisely who could express grief, and how, when, and where they could do so. After an initial grieving over the deceased by all the women of the neighborhood and family, the body was to be brought to the upper story of the

house, where only female blood relatives or others living in the house could gesture dramatically and cry out. Some external expressions of grief were limited even for such close relatives as the mother and wife of the deceased, especially if the deceased was a cleric. No one was to express sorrow with tears or cry in a loud voice outside the house or wherever the corpse lay before the sounding of the death bell, or at night.⁵¹ Women were forbidden to participate in the funeral procession, or even to follow it. Indeed, women were not to leave the house and above all (*sopprattutto*) were not to go into the public streets that the procession would take. This “went double” (*in modo particolare*) for the mother, wife, and daughters.⁵²

Only very close women relatives and friends of the widow could remain in the house to console her after the men had returned from the funeral.⁵³ The role of *gridatori* or professional mourners was acknowledged but their activities were also tightly regulated.⁵⁴ All restrictions were enforced (no doubt with varying degrees of success) by penalties ranging from ten to one hundred lire.⁵⁵ Only wives, daughters, mothers, mothers-in-law, or other female relations up to the fifth degree of relation could dress in mourning clothes and, of these, only the widow could wear brown, and only for one year.⁵⁶ (Thus, since the young blonde donor in Giotto's painting does not wear widow's brown, but black or *perso*, nor does she cover her head as was required for married women, we may conclude that the painting commemorates not her husband, but some other close relation, perhaps a parent, or perhaps a fiancé).⁵⁷

It is important to notice that the laws, both by their very existence and in their specific details, indicate that strong emotion was expected, and even required to be expressed by women, but only within precisely controlled parameters. Rather than trying to eliminate grieving behavior, which after all had social and ritual importance, the statutes tried to circumscribe those behaviors and prevent mourners from transgressing the boundaries in ways that might have threatened social peace and stability—or allowed women's presence to be too prominent in the public sphere. At times, the laws even seem to be trying to be sensitive to the rights of those with natural feelings of grief (i.e., close relatives and friends) and thus to distinguish between inner experience and its outer performance, as modeled also by Giotto's *Lamentation*.

* * *

The definition of socially acceptable boundaries for women's grieving behavior in the sumptuary laws mirrors the behaviors portrayed by the fourteenth-century laywomen donors in paintings of mourning over Christ. In a sense, all the females represented in Giotto's *Lamentation* follow the society's rules regarding grieving behavior. As required by the statutes, the men and women are separated. The men stand behind the body of Christ while the women kneel, or are in some way close to the ground, and are in the foreground. In Taddeo's *Entombment* the separation is achieved by the grouping of men at the edges, while the women cluster closely around Christ's body and occupy the center of the image. In addition, the women from the social

world of the painting's viewership are highly restrained as prescribed not only by the laws, but also by mainstream Christian thinkers and preachers since the early middle ages. In neither Giotto's nor Taddeo's works do the donor women exhibit strong emotion in body language or facial expression. In visible contrast, the female saints model the emotive behavior expected of women in private and regarded as "true" sorrow and compassion. Giotto thus displays both virtuosic talent for the naturalism of his day and a sensitive grasp of its Christian religious and social conventions in his ability to embody the society's conflicts about women and the performance of grief. In visually juxtaposing both emotive and restrained modes of grieving, Giotto's painting, and many other images of grief over Christ, encoded and reinforced societal as well as religious prescriptions for female mourning in private contexts, and proscriptions against the display of extreme emotion, especially in public.

NOTES

1. For example, see Gloria Fiero, Wendy Pfeffer, and Mathe Allain, eds. and trans., *Three Medieval Views of Women* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989).
2. See particularly the chapter by Lyn Blanchfield in this volume and Blanchfield, "Sincere Body," 117–120.
3. Niklaus Largier, "Inner Senses—Outer Senses: The Practice of Emotions in Medieval Mysticism," in *Codierungen von Emotionen im Mittelalter (Emotions and Sensibilities in the Middle Ages)*, ed. C. Stephen Jaeger and Ingrid Kasten, 3–14 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2003); on Augustine, see especially Allison Levy, "Augustine's Concessions and other Failures: Mourning and Masculinity in Fifteenth-Century Tuscany," in *Grief and Gender: 700–1700*, ed. Jennifer C. Vaught, 84–85 (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); on Chrysostom, also see Maguire, "Depiction of Sorrow," 128, 131.
4. On the question of tears and authenticity, see chapters by Swift, Knight, Jones, and O'Sullivan in this volume.
5. Examples include the hymns of Jacopone da Todi, Albertano of Brescia's *Book of Consolation and Counsel*, and sermons, such as those by the Dominican, Eudes of Chateauroux. See Carol Lansing, *Passion and Order: The Restraint of Grief in the Medieval Italian Communes* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008), 146–151. On religious plays, see Dunbar H. Ogden, *The Staging of Drama in the Medieval Church* (Newark and London: University of Delaware Press, 2001).
6. Largier, "Inner Senses—Outer Senses," 3–14.
7. On various challenges to the communal peace in Siena and mechanisms to control them, see William Bowsky, "The Medieval Commune and Internal Violence: Police Power and Public Safety in Siena, 1287–1355," *American Historical Review* 73, no. 1 (1967): 1–17; and also by Bowsky, *A Medieval Italian Commune: Siena under the Nine, 1287–1355* (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 1981).
8. Diane Owen Hughes, "Mourning Rites, Memory, and Civilization in Pre-modern Italy," in *Riti e rituali nella società medioevale*, ed. Jacques Chiffoleau, Lauro Martines, and Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, 25–26 (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1994).
9. D. Hughes, "Mourning Rites," 25.
10. Aristotle's views appear in Book 16 of *On Animals*. For the medieval application of those views to women, see Magnus, *Women's Secrets*, 106. On the

particularly conservative character of Florentine culture in respect to women, see Pamela Benson, "Debate about Women in Trecento Florence," in *Gender in Debate from the Early Middle Ages to the Renaissance*, ed. Thelma S. Fenster and Clare A. Lees, 165–187 (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002).

11. Sharon Strocchia, "Death Rites and the Ritual Family in Renaissance Florence," in *Life and Death in Fifteenth-Century Florence*, ed. Marcel Tetel, Ronald G. Witt, and Rona Goffen, 120–124, 129 (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1989).
12. Strocchia, "Death Rites," 125–128.
13. See Deborah Youngs, *The Life Cycle in Western Europe, c. 1300 to c. 1500* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2006), 191–192; Matthew Innes, "Transmission of Family Memory, 700–1200," in *Medieval Memories: Men, Women, and the Past, 700–1300*, ed. Elizabeth M. C. van Houts, 17–35 (New York: Longman, 2001).
14. In contrast, visual representations of deathbed and funerary rituals are not uncommon in Northern European art. The only major exception in Italy is the depiction of a contemporary saint's funeral—a category of images I will pursue in more depth on another occasion. My findings are corroborated by Maria Corsi, who asserted that in Italy representations of laypeoples' funerals are "numerically irrelevant" compared to those of saints. Corsi, "La rappresentazione del rito funebre e della sepoltura nella pittura senese del Medioevo," *Bullettino senese storia patria* (2004): 341–370.
15. Levy, "Augustine's Concessions," 81–84.
16. Barasch, *Gestures of Despair*; E. H. Gombrich, review of *Gestures of Despair in Medieval and Early Renaissance Art*, by Moshe Barasch, *Burlington Magazine* 120 (1978): 762–763.
17. Maguire, "Depiction of Sorrow," 123–174.
18. Moshe Barasch, *Giotto and the Language of Gesture* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987).
19. Maguire, "Depiction of Sorrow," 174–177.
20. *Ibid.*, 132.
21. *Ibid.*, 171.
22. Barasch, "Crying Face," 21–36.
23. Andres Ladis, review of *Giotto and the Language of Gesture*, by Moshe Barasch, *Art Bulletin* 74 (1992): 169.
24. Henk W. van Os, *Sieneese Altarpieces (1215–1344)*, vol. 1, *Sieneese Altarpieces, 1215–1460: Form, Content, Function*, vol. 4, *Mediaevalia Groningana*, trans. Michael Hoyle (Groningen: Bouma's Boekhuis, 1988).
25. Hans Belting, *The Image and its Public in the Middle Ages: Form and Function of Early Paintings of the Passion* (New Rochelle, NY: A. D. Caratzas, 1990).
26. Anne Derbes, *Picturing the Passion in Late Medieval Italy: Narrative Paintings, Franciscan Ideologies, and the Levant* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 1–5.
27. Examples include Louise Bourdua, "Guariento's Crucifix for Maria Buvolini in San Francesco, Bassano: Women and Franciscan Art in Italy during the Later Middle Ages," in Pope, Church and City. Studies in Honour of Brenda Bolton, ed. Francis Andrews, Christopher Egger, and Constance M. Rousseau, 309–323 (Leiden: Brill, 2004); Catherine King, "Medieval Matrons, Italian Style," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 55 (1992): 372–393; Benjamin G. Kohl, "Fina da Carrara, nee Buzzacarini: Consort, Mother, and Patron of Art in Trecento Padua," in *Beyond Isabella: Secular Women patrons of Art in Renaissance Italy*, vol. 54, *Sixteenth-Century Essays and Studies*, ed. Sheryl E. Reiss and David G. Wilkins, 19–35 (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2001), 19–35; Cordelia Warr, "Painting in Late Fourteenth-Century Padua: The Patronage of Fina Buzzacarini," *Renaissance Studies* 10 (1996): 139–155.

28. See, for instance, Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996); *Memory and the Medieval Tomb*, ed. Elizabeth Valdez del Alamo and Carol Pendergast (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2000). The most famous of the northern tombs is that of Philip the Bold of Burgundy, with its deeply moving “pleurants” or mourning figures. For the most recent and well-illustrated publication see the exhibition catalog by Sophie Jugie, *The Mourners: Tomb Sculpture from the Court of Burgundy* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010).
29. A few other examples of the enormous body of literature on tombs include Erwin Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture: Four Lectures on Its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1967); Julian Gardner, *The Tomb and the Tiara: Curial Tomb Sculpture in Rome and Avignon in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992); Tanja Michalsky, *Memoria und Representation: Die Grabmaler des Konigshauses Anjou in Italien* (Gottingen: Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, 2000), 157. Also see Corsi, “La rappresentazione,” 341–370.
30. Jacobus’s 1999 article was based on her 1994 dissertation, “Gesture in the Art, Drama, and Social Life of Late Medieval Italy” for Birckbeck College, University of London.
31. In connection with my study, it is important to note that the sources from which Jacobus, Barasch, and others draw do not specify whether the grieving behaviors they describe occurred in public or in private.
32. A. Baldini, in “Giotto,” in *L’eredità di Giotto: Arte a Firenze 1340–1375*, ed. Arnaldo Tartuferi (Florence: Giunti, 2008), 172, bases her dating on the relationships between Giotto’s painting and what she takes to be a copy by Giovanni da Milano in Rome. See Daniela Parenti, ed., *Giovanni da Milano: capolavori del gotico fra Lombardia e Toscana* (Florence: Giunti; Galleria dell’Accademia, 2008), 234; Arnaldo Cocchi, *Le chiese di Firenze dal sec. IV al sec. XX*, vol. 1, *quartiere di S Giovanni* (Florence: n.p., 1903), 137.
33. Lacking the specific terms of the commission we cannot establish with certainty the significance of St. Benedict’s presence, although he clearly is connected with the Benedictine donor kneeling beside him.
34. Baldini, “Giotto,” 172. On the introduction of tears in art, see Barasch, *Giotto*.
35. Tuscan trecento examples include paintings of the Lamentation and Entombment by Duccio, Giotto, Ambrogio Lorenzetti, Pietro Lorenzetti, and Simone Martini. For reproductions, see Barasch, *Gestures of Despair*, 57–86.
36. As traced by Barasch, in *Gestures of Despair*, 21–38 and 57–86, the seated figure with their head resting in their hand goes back to ancient Greece.
37. Ilse E. Friesen, “Saints as Helpers in Dying: The Hairy Holy Women Mary Magdalen, Mary of Egypt, and Wilgefortis in the Iconography of the Late Middle Ages,” in *Death and Dying in the Middle Ages*, ed. Edelgard E. DuBruck and Barbara I. Gusick, 241–248 (New York: Peter Lang, 1999); Lorraine Schwartz, “Patronage and Franciscan Iconography in the Magdalen Chapel at Assisi,” *Burlington Magazine* 133 (1991): 32–36; George Kaftal, *Iconography of the Saints in Tuscan Painting* (Florence: Sansoni, 1952), 717.
38. Friesen, “Saints as Helpers,” 241.
39. Charles H. Cosgrove, “A Woman’s Unbound Hair in the Greco-Roman World, with Special Reference to the Story of the ‘Sinful Woman’ in Luke 7:36–50,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 124 (2005): 675–692, esp. 677–680, 682–684, and 688.
40. The major literature on this fresco includes F. Carrara, “La cappella di San Silvestro in Santa Croce e i Bardi mercanti e feudatari,” *Antichità Viva* 36 (1997): 63–71; Ena Giurescu Heller, “Access to Salvation: The Place (and Space) of Women Patrons in Fourteenth-Century Florence,” in *Women’s*

Spaces: Patronage, Place, Gender in the Medieval Church, ed. Virginia Chieffo Raguin and Sarah Stanbury, 161–183 (New York: State University of New York Press, 2005); Andres Ladis, *Taddeo Gaddi: Critical Reappraisal and Catalogue Raisonné* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1982), 136–138; Jane Long, “Salvation through Meditation: The Tomb Frescoes in the Holy Confessors Chapel at Santa Croce in Florence,” *Gesta* (1995): 77–88.

41. Biblioteca Comunale Nazionale di Firenze, Archivio Poligrafo Gargani #1519, (Pepi); Raffaello Bencini and Alberto Busignani, *Le chiese di Firenze: Quartiere di Sta Croce* (Florence: Sansoni, 1982), 104; Cocchi, *Le chiese di Firenze*, 137; G. Richa, *Notizie Storiche delle chiese Fiorentine Divise ne suoi Quartieri, Pt. Prima: del Quartiere di Santa Croce* (n.p.: n.p., 1754), 260.
42. Pierre Antonetti, *La Vita Quotidiana ai Tempi di Dante*, trans. Giuseppe Cafiero (Milan: BUR Biblioteca Univ. Rizzoli, 1998), 73–74.
43. See Long, “Salvation,” 83–84. It is generally agreed that Monna Tessa originally appeared to rise up from her now lost sarcophagus, once mounted beneath the fresco.
44. Barasch, *Gestures of Despair*, 8; Levy, “Augustine’s Concessions,” 87; Boncompagno da Signa, *Antiqua Rhetorica*, chap. 26. For the Latin see Barasch, *Gestures of Despair*, n. 11.
45. Additional information about Florentine funerals is found in the “Manoscritto Monaldo.” See Barasch, *Gestures of Despair*, 88.
46. Barasch, *Gestures of Despair*, 88–89. The same behavior is also ascribed to women in mourning in Chretien de Troyes’s Arthurian romances and in other forms of medieval French literature, sermons, and conduct books; see Callahan, “Widow’s Tears,” 245–263.
47. Heather M. Arden, “Grief, Widowhood and Women’s Sexuality in Medieval French Literature,” in *Upon My Husband’s Death: Widows in the Literature and Histories of Medieval Europe*, ed. Louise Mirrer, 306 (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992).
48. This gesture was and is often associated with supplication or prayer, but it could also be used to signify intense grief. For further discussion and for numerous examples, see Barasch, *Gestures of Despair*, 57–86.
49. Judith Steinhoff, “Reality and Ideality in Sienese Renaissance Cityscapes,” in *Renaissance Siena: Art in Context*, ed. A. L. Jenkins, 21–45 (Kirkville, MO: Truman State University, 2005), with references to the texts.
50. Maria A. Ceppari Ridolfi and Patrizia Turrini, *Il mulino delle vanità: Lusso e cerimonie nella Siena Medievale, col l’edizione dello Statuto del Donnaio, 1343*. (Siena: Il Leccio, 1993), 55–57.
51. *Statuto del Donnaio*, XV and XVI, 157 and 159.
52. *Statuto*, XII, 155. The only exception was in the case of a deceased girl or a child of ten or under and then no more than six women could participate (*Statuto*, XII).
53. *Statuto del Donnaio*, XVI, 155.
54. *Statuto*, XXI and XXII, 163 and 165.
55. *Ibid.*, 66–69.
56. Others could dress in mourning colors only for six months. *Statuto*, XIII and XIV.
57. Although this young woman cannot be definitely identified at this time, we may speculate that she and the person the work commemorates were members of the Pepi family, several of whom were buried in San Remigio. However, as was recently proposed to me by Sonia Chiodo, the size and importance of Giotto’s painting suggests it may, instead, have been commissioned by a family more prominent in Florentine social life.

4 The Paradoxical Rhetoric of Tears

Looking at the Madrid *Descent from the Cross*

Felix Thürlemann

FAZIO VS. MICHELANGELO: PAINTED VS. SHED TEARS

The subject of this chapter can be delimited by two quotations, which stand for two possible, opposing approaches to the phenomenon of tears in early Netherlandish painting. Referring to Fazio's *De viris illustribus* (1456),¹ and specifically to the passage dedicated to Rogier van der Weyden, Erwin Panofsky comments on the Madrid *Descent from the Cross*² (Figure 4.1) as follows:

In the *Descent from the Cross*, as in the lost composition described by Fazio, dignity is preserved amidst a flow of tears. All but three of the participants—the servant behind the Cross and the two oldest of the men—are weeping, and tears still stream over the face of the Mater Dolorosa though she has collapsed in a deathlike faint; it may be said that the painted tear, a shining pearl born of the strongest emotion, epitomizes that which the Italians most admired in Early Flemish painting: pictorial brilliance and sentiment.³

According to Panofsky, the painted tears express two central characteristics of Netherlandish painting: emotionality in the conception of the represented theme and technical finesse in the execution, two aspects for which fifteenth-century Italian painting was not known to such a great extent.

Two generations later, another Italian—Michelangelo Buonarroti—reacted very differently to Netherlandish painting, and particularly to the devotional images that flooded the Italian market. For him, too—at least according to reports from Francisco de Hollanda in his *Diálogos* from 1538—tears characterized Netherlandish painting, although in a very different manner:

Flemish painting [. . .] will, generally speaking, Signora, please the devout better than any painting of Italy, which will never cause him to shed a tear, whereas that of Flanders will cause him to shed many; and

that not through the vigor and goodness of the painting but owing to the goodness of the devout person. It will appeal to women, especially to the very old and the very young, and also to monks and nuns and to certain noblemen who have no sense of harmony.⁴

The difference could not be more explicit: while Fazio is interested in the *represented* tears, Michelangelo speaks solely about the *shed* tears, the real tears of those who behold the images imported from Flanders. According to Michelangelo, it is not the artistic quality of the paintings (*vigor o bondade d'aquela pintura*) but rather the moral character (*bondade d'aquale tal devoto*) of the beholders that is responsible for their strong impact. While Fazio has an eye for the specific appearance of the early Netherlandish works, Michelangelo inquires into the conduct of the viewer towards them. Artistic quality and emotional reaction are, in fact, opposites for Michelangelo. Netherlandish painting is successful not only in the eyes of women and clergy, but also with “certain nobility without a musical sense for true harmony” (*alguns fidalgos desmusicos da verdadeira harmonia*).⁵ The conclusion that can be drawn from Michelangelo’s comment is evident: when one sees good art, one does not cry.

To this day, art historical research widely bears resemblance to the same division so clearly demonstrated by the polarity between Fazio and Michelangelo. Scholars are interested either in the painted tears or the tears shed by the viewer. Thus Moshe Barasch proposed an iconography of tears in 1987, in which he explained and justified the appearance of painted tears in early Netherlandish painting in terms of theological texts, mostly by church fathers.⁶ In contrast, James Elkins in *Pictures & Tears* (2001)—in which, significantly, Barasch is not cited—is primarily interested in texts that report tears shed by individual beholders in the process of viewing the paintings—whether these paintings still exist or not.⁷ Attempts to bring together the two dimensions, the representation of tears in individual paintings and the reaction of the viewers to them, have remained scarce.⁸ This chapter, dedicated to the Madrid *Descent from the Cross* that once adorned the high altar of the church Onze-Lieve-Vrouw-van-Ginderbuiten in Louvain, will attempt to unite the two approaches and ask the following questions, methodologically oriented to the aesthetics of reception as formulated by Wolfgang Kemp⁹: How should the viewer react to this painting, in which many protagonists are represented as drenched in tears? Does this panel contain in itself instructions for an appropriate behavior that would permit to reconstruct the so-called “implied beholder”? Although the focal point will be on the analysis of the visual structure of the painting, the chapter will also consider the possible reactions of the contemporary viewers towards the image and its subject matter by referring to texts that, we can assume, were familiar to the artist and his contemporaries.



Figure 4.1 *Descent from the Cross*, ca. 1430. Madrid, Prado (originally: Leuven, Church of Our Lady Outside the Walls). Photo: with permission of the Museo Nacional Del Prado.

In 1953, the Madrid *Descent from the Cross* was the subject of a methodologically important article. Under the title “*Compassio* and *Co-redemptio* in Roger van der Weyden’s *Descent from the Cross*” Otto von Simson set himself the goal of explaining an especially original element of the figure composition: the fact that the Mother of God, as she succumbs to unconsciousness, imitates the posture of her dead son.¹⁰ According to Simson, the compositional peculiarity serves the purpose of making visible Mary’s *compassio*, her compassion with Christ. According to the theological literature, which the author cites at length, through her especially intensive compassion Mary takes part in Christ’s redemptive work and thus deserves the title *co-redemptrix*, partaker in the salvation of humanity.

This interpretation is convincing; yet, it is not only *compassio*, but also *configuratio*, a theological term particularly important for medieval mysticism, that should be considered here.¹¹ *Configuratio* is derived from the biblical word *configuratus*, which, in Saint Paul’s Letter to the Philippians (3:10), refers to the imitation of the Passion of Christ, and here points to the inner action of the imitational reproduction of the suffering of Christ by his mother.¹² The creator of the Madrid *Descent from*

the Cross took the expression literally with the meaning “assimilation of the form (*figura*) to its model” and translated it into visual language. The special presentation of Mary in the Madrid *Descent from the Cross*, which is shaped by the parallels to Christ, does not only define her specific role in the salvation of humanity as *co-redemptrix*, as von Simson has shown by referring to theological texts. The Mother of God suffering with Christ appeals to the viewer to do likewise, i.e., to mourn and to weep with her.

In Simson’s article tears are, surprisingly, not mentioned even once. They do, however, play an important role as an expression of suffering, not only in the theological tracts quoted by the author and in most of the then popular Marian prayer texts, but also in the painting itself. The presence of tears, along with the unusual composition, points to one of the most important creative principles of the creator of the *Descent from the Cross*. It is the skill of making central ideological concepts of the Christian faith visually graspable through the specific composition of the figures. This principle is just as important for the painter as the goal of a realistic reproduction of the outside world, and has a dialectical relationship with it: the viewer is acquainted with the Passion of Christ through a very realistic rendering of the scene, which at the same time is—in an almost violent manner—artistically reshaped for the sake of a theological statement.

FIRST TEARS

Although weeping has always been a central theme of Passion literature, a representation of tears appeared late in medieval art; until the fifteenth century, lachrymose behavior was made apparent through gesture and facial expression only.¹³ Robert Campin appears to be the first to have simulated tears by pictorial means; ultimately, painted tears would become the hallmark of Campin’s most distinguished student, Rogier van der Weyden.

The Entombment triptych created by Robert Campin in about 1415 can be considered as the incubator of painted tears (Figure 4.3).¹⁴ Tiny, barely two-millimeter-long drops are visible on women’s faces, mostly painted close to the inner corner of the eye. More easily seen, however, are the tears on the two angels who are carrying instruments of the Passion, whose laments are emphasized by gestures (Figure 4.4).¹⁵ This is instructive insofar as the angels have the function of mediators between the Passion scene represented in the middle panel and both the donor pictured on the left wing and the real beholder praying in front of the triptych. Although they give him instructions on how to react to the death of Christ, the donor himself shows no obvious outward signs of mourning.

This difference in behavior points to the relation between the implied beholder who models an ideal reaction to Christ's Passion and the actual viewer positioned in front of the painting, whose reception of the image follows this model in different degrees and in different ways. Certainly, even when some of the figures in the picture—rarely is it all of them—are copiously crying, this does not mean that the reaction of the viewer to the painting must be accompanied by visible tears. And yet, the visual rhetoric of weeping can be used as a parameter, often contradictory, to suggest the complex dynamic of the reception of the image.

A surprising advancement in the representation of tears can be observed when one compares the Entombment triptych, now in the Courtauld Gallery, with the Madrid *Descent from the Cross* originating about fifteen years later. It must however be borne in mind that the realistic effect of the tears in the *Descent from the Cross* was only made possible by the larger scale of the figures, which approach life-size in this altarpiece. In the Madrid *Descent from the Cross*, the tears are understood as complex optical phenomena, and for their convincing rendering an extraordinary observational gift must have been paired with a refined painting technique. In the panel the tears are pictured as transparent, moving bodies that reflect the light on their surface and at the same time allow a view of the skin over which they appear to be flowing. That the tears do not fall in a straight vertical line betrays their viscosity.

In the Madrid *Descent from the Cross*, the tears, sign of artistic perfection, serve to distinguish particular figures who are emotionally, empathetically closest to the dead Christ. They are, however, not merely an attribute of the figures in question. Due to their dynamic nature, the tears point to the weeping as an event by which great inner suffering becomes visible. It would be wrong to regard the painted tears as merely demonstrations of artistic virtuosity. In this early painting they do not yet have the emblematic status, which will soon be typical of Netherlandish painting. In the Madrid *Descent from the Cross* they still find their foundation in the intent of the painter to represent the subject—the sacrificial death of Christ as the requirement for the salvation of humanity and the individual—in a way that will convince and stir the observer.¹⁶ Certainly, after such tears have once been painted, every student or follower with enough handiwork could imitate them as a formula and so dispense with a renewed natural observation. Thus, after 1430 it was scarcely possible to dam up the river of tears in Netherlandish painting.

FAC ME TECUM PLANGERE

In addition to Mary, several figures shed tears in the Madrid *Descent from the Cross*, and Nicodemus is one of them (Figure 4.2).

Nicodemus's period costume (the brocaded fur coat and the chaperon) reveals that this is also a portrait of the unknown donor, who thus simultaneously represents the contemporary viewer. In the role of the donor, Nicodemus models an exemplary manner in which the beholders of the painting should react to the scene presented. The panel is not only the representation of a biblical event and its theological analysis through the visible alignment of Mary and Christ, it also possesses a strong emotional appeal. That the reaction of the Mother of God is to be understood by the viewer as a challenge to experience the sympathetic compassion, a quasi-second-degree *compassio*, is also suggested by two texts that were widely read throughout the Middle Ages, and were still very popular at the beginning of the fifteenth century: the *Stabat mater* and the *Planctus beatae Mariae*.¹⁷

The *compassio* of the believer, the sympathetic suffering with the compassionate Mother of God, is one of the leitmotifs of the *Stabat mater*. At the beginning, in stanza III, the motif of *compassio* is referred to in question form whereupon the (inner) gaze of the praying man on the compassionate Mother of God leads him to lament: "Quis est homo qui non fleret, / matrem Christi si videret / in tanto supplicio? // Quis non posset contristari / piam matrem contemplari / dolentem cum filio?" (Who is the man who would not weep when seeing the Mother of Christ in such agony? Who would not have compassion on beholding the devout mother suffering with her Son?) In the end, the praying man becomes active himself and asks the Mother of God in repeated phrases to support him in mourning (stanza Va ff): "Eia, mater fons amoris, / me sentire vim doloris / fac, ut tecum lugeam. [. . .] Fac me vere tecum flere [. . .] fac me tecum plangere" (O Mother, fountain of love, make me feel the power of sorrow, that I may grieve with you. [. . .] Let me sincerely weep with you [. . .] let me mourn with you).¹⁸

Similarly, the well-known *Planctus beatae Mariae*, once ascribed to Bernard of Clairvaux—probably a text of the Cistercian abbot Ogle-rius de Tridino (d. 1214)¹⁹—aims to transfer Mary's compassion of Christ onto the reader; in the end, the mother suffering with her son herself becomes an object of sympathy. The complaint of the Mother of God is also capable of moving the unwilling to lament.²⁰ In the first sentence of the *Planctus*, with the quote from Jeremiah 9:1, the tearful lament is immediately established as the central theme of the text: "Quis dabit capiti meo et oculis meis imbrem lacrimarum, ut possim flere per diem et noctem" (Who will give a stream of tears to my head and eyes so I might weep night and day). With a variety of rhetorical devices, the Passion scene is subsequently presented to the mind's eye of the reader.

In addition to biblical narratives, texts such as the *Stabat mater* and the *Planctus beatae Mariae* were undoubtedly important references for



Figure 4.2 Nicodemus: portrait of the donor (detail of Figure 4.1, *Descent from the Cross*).

the creator of the Madrid *Descent from the Cross*. The painter not only referred to the prayer and meditation practices in these texts, but also, in a sense, improved on them through the very medium of painting. While topoi of unspeakability repeatedly earmark the *Planctus*, designating the incapability to capture the emotions in words,²¹ the painter



Figure 4.3 Robert Campin, *Triptych with the Entombment* (triptych Seilern), ca. 1415. London, Courtauld Institute Galleries. Photo: with permission of The Samuel Courtauld Trust, The Courtauld Gallery, London.



Figure 4.4 Mourning angel (detail of [Figure 4.3](#), *Triptych with the Entombment*).

can make the outward signs of suffering visible for the recipient through gestures and, above all, through the representation of tears. The image was for the praying man a more direct invitation to compassion than the texts could ever be.

SEEING AS PROOF OF GOD'S EXISTENCE

In the Madrid *Descent from the Cross*, the emotionally moved figures are embedded in a sophisticated compositional structure that, in possessing a great temporal “elasticity,” simultaneously presents, in fact, three successive moments of the Passion: the descent from the cross, the Lamentation, and the bearing of the body to the tomb. A helper standing on a ladder behind the cross, dressed in a clerical white surplice, frees the corpse of Christ and lowers it to the ground, where it is received by the bearded Joseph of Arimathea and by the donor in the role of Nicodemus. The broad stance of the two bearers shows that they are about to carry the corpse to the right, and out of the pictorial space. Behind Nicodemus, another helper bears the traditional physiognomy of Saint Peter. He has taken the jar of anointing oil from the mourning Mary Magdalene and tries with his left hand to push away the saint in order to clear the way for the two bearers of the body.²² Despite this, Nicodemus still steps on Mary Magdalene’s cloak with his outstretched right foot and pulls it to the ground.

The main reference for the conception of the Madrid *Descent from the Cross* was another altarpiece, destroyed today, which, as I presume, was created for the high altar of the church Sainte Marie-Madeleine in Lille.²³ The altarpiece, a triptych with a central panel of *The Bearing of the Body of Christ to the Tomb*, was originally just as famous as the Madrid *Descent from the Cross*, and is preserved through numerous copies and a rare preliminary design for the center panel, which can be ascribed to the author of the Seilern and Mérode Triptychs, Robert Campin (Figure 4.5).²⁴ The composition is extraordinarily original. It is not only the first representation of Christ carried to the tomb feetfirst, but also an explicit reference to the ancient Meleager sarcophagus, a reference made by Campin long before Italians—Mantegna, Signorelli, and Raphael—did.²⁵

Here, too, the patron—who can be identified as Barthélemy Alatruey, a respected citizen of the city of Lille whose parents were buried in the church—was cast in the role of Nicodemus, centrally placed in the image. Nicodemus’s gaze is important: it is set up as the counterpoint to Adam’s skull, whereby the vertical line of sight, which divides the composition into two parts, goes through the pierced left hand of Christ, held by the angel. This gaze is the visualization of an Old Testament verse (Zech. 12:10), which is quoted in the Gospel of John (John 19:37) as the foretelling of the Passion of Christ. In the Vulgate, the verse is the literal translation of the Septuagint, which states “Videbunt in quem transfixerunt,” and can be translated as “They shall look into the one whom they pierced.” This important quotation, which, as a typological prophecy, bears the weight of a proof of God’s existence, directly precedes the paragraph in which it is reported how Joseph of Arimathea along with Nicodemus receives



Figure 4.5 Robert Campin, *The Bearing of the Body of Christ to the Tomb* (preliminary drawing for the center panel of a lost altarpiece), ca. 1425. Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins. Photo: bpk—RMN/Michele Bellot.

permission from Pilate to bury the corpse of Christ. The future tense of *videbunt* not only refers to the biblical Nicodemus, but also addresses here the patron of the painting along with everyone who views it.

While Nicodemus's gaze is set on one of the pierced hands of Christ, Mary Magdalene, depicted in a comparable posture and in mirror symmetry to the Mother of God, is looking at Christ's pierced feet. Her gaze, along with that of Nicodemus, calls to mind the words of Christ quoted by Luke 24:49: "Videte manus meas et pedes" (through the sight of his hands and feet the savior will give proof to the disciples after his resurrection that he is the crucified son of God).²⁶ Thus, already in this composition—supported by the biblical verse—the act of seeing, the gaze on the martyred body of Christ, is made the central theme. For those who identify themselves with the figure of Nicodemus or Mary Magdalene, the perception of the painted corpse is equal to a confirmation of the sacrificial death of God's son.²⁷

The composition of *The Bearing of the Body of Christ to the Tomb* is further developed in the Madrid *Descent from the Cross*. The line of sight, which leads from the head of Nicodemus/the donor to the skull of Adam is repeated, but now goes through *both* pierced hands of Christ. The line of sight, which again recalls the verse "Videbunt in quem transfixerunt," here receives an additional function: it serves as a visualization of the concept of *compassio*. On the diagonal, which leads from the head of the donor to the skull of Adam, the body of Mary is visually aligned with the body of Christ. The gaze through the pierced limbs of Christ and the concept of *compassio* are therefore related to each other; both hands of the Virgin are placed in the line of sight of Nicodemus, so that in the middle of this line two hands stand opposed to each other in a stark emotional contrast—the pierced, bleeding right hand of the crucified son in front of a red background and the bloodless left hand of the fainted mother, which throws a dark shadow on her azure blue cloak (Figure 4.6).

For the beholder of the Madrid *Descent from the Cross*, Nicodemus's gaze offers reflection both on the pierced hands of the savior, who sacrificed himself for humanity, and on Mary, who inwardly shares the suffering of her son in her own suffering. The tears of the donor figure are thereby doubly motivated. They have their cause in the imitational reproduction of the Virgin's *compassio* and in the direct gaze on the martyred Christ. At the end of the line of sight is the skull of Adam. It refers to the fall of man, which made the incarnation of Christ for the salvation of humankind necessary in the first place, and challenges the observer—in its simultaneous function as *memento mori*—to look in the face of coming death and to repent his own sins in order to be saved.

Repentance, here, is key to the interpretation of the painting. Basing his taxonomy of weeping on a typology widely spread in the Middle Ages, the twelfth-century Augustinian prior Guy von Southwick, like many others after him, distinguishes between three hierarchically organized forms of tears, which denote three states of the soul (*animae status*).²⁸ At the



Figure 4.6 Christ's and Mary's hands (detail of Figure 4.1, *Descent from the Cross*).

lowest rank are the *lacrimae compunctionis*, the “tears of regret,” which the sinner sheds on the basis of his own sins. Next come the *lacrimae compassionis*, the “tears of compassion,” which flow when we mourn the suffering of others. On the highest level are the *lacrimae devotionis*, the “tears of devotion,” which we shed on earth while longing for our eternal home in heaven.

It is doubtless not possible to apply this taxonomy in any straightforward fashion to the subject of the Madrid painting. It is, however, useful and relevant for its differentiation between the *lacrimae compassionis* and the *lacrimae compunctionis*. The “tears of compassion” are clearly shed by the Virgin. Like her, all of the figures on the left half of the painting also weep—independently or following the example of the Mother of God: John and the two women at his side. The two weeping figures on the right half, Mary Magdalene and Nicodemus, behave differently. The tears with which “the sinner saint [Magdalene] had wet the feet of the Lord Jesus with” are, according to Guy von Southwick, exemplary tears of regret.²⁹ For the composite figure of Nicodemus, the “tears of compassion” and the “tears of regret” are conflated. Just as the donor in the role of Nicodemus was pictured weeping while looking at the Virgin, so the devout who stood before the *Descent from the Cross* in the Louvain church Onze-Lieve-Vrouw-van-Ginderbuiten were invited to imitate the reaction of the Mother of God and consider her as a model of their own compassionate reaction to the representation of Christ’s death—all the while repenting their sins.

A PARADOX OF RECEPTION

The attribution of the Madrid *Descent from the Cross* to Rogier van der Weyden was first documented only in 1565, some 140 years after the completion of the altar. Connoisseurs have since ascertained the close stylistic relationship between the Madrid panel and the altar wings in the Frankfurt Städel, attributed to the “Master of Flémalle,” generally identified with Robert Campin from Tournai.³⁰ In my opinion, the panels in the Frankfurt Städel—the Virgin and Child, the Saint Veronica, and the grisaille with The Throne of Mercy—were once part of the Madrid *Descent*, which was originally a polyptych with four large and two small wings (Figure 4.7).

The meaning of the reconstructed altarpiece can be studied independently from the question of which hands were individually involved in the execution of its parts.³¹ Much in the manner of the Ghent altarpiece, the exterior of the wings showed figures painted in grisaille and placed in niches. On the interior, the panel with the *Maria lactans* was affixed directly to the left of the *Descent from the Cross*. This explains the shocked gaze of the Christ Child, whom Jochen Sander characterized in his description of the “Flémalle” panel as “suddenly distracted from breastfeeding” (Figures 4.8 and 4.9).³²

On the interior of the altarpiece, therefore, Christ was represented multiple times: as a child on the left, as being removed from the cross dead in the central panel, as being (we suppose) resurrected on the right, and finally as the iconic picture on the veil of Saint Veronica on the outer right wing.³³ According to this reconstruction, the Louvain altarpiece possessed an additional narrative



Figure 4.7 Polyptych of the *Descent from the Cross*, originally: Leuven, Church of Our Lady Outside the Walls (reconstruction F.T.)—center panel: Madrid, Prado; wings: Frankfurt am Main, Städel Museum. Photo: author.



Figure 4.8 Maria lactans (detail); Frankfurt am Main, Städel Museum. Photo: U. Edelmann—Städel Museum—ARTOTHEK.

dimension when opened, showing, read from left to right, Christ's childhood, Passion, Resurrection, and commemoration. The Child looked in prophetic anticipation upon himself as the one who, as an adult, has sacrificed himself for humanity (Figures 4.8 and 4.9). The gaze of the Christ Child upon himself as a dead adult may be shocked, but it is a gaze without tears.³⁴



Figure 4.9 Dead Christ (detail of [Figure 4.1](#), *Descent from the Cross*).

The dynamic of reception was, therefore, a complex one. This representation of the Passion, and its visualized concept of the *compassio*, has a close relationship to the emotionally charged prayer and meditation practices of the late Middle Ages. When the altarpiece was opened, the believer saw the image of the dead Christ as a painted equivalent of the host, and

within the context of celebration of Christ's sacrificial death enacted at the altar. Nicodemus offered exemplary behavior: his tears can be read both as *lacrimae compassionis* and *lacrimae poenitentiae*, tears of compassion and repentance; and, through the reference to the typological interpretation of the Old Testament verse "Videbunt in quem transfixerunt," the very act of seeing modeled by Nicodemus/donor is structured as a proof of God's existence for the participant in the sacrifice of the Mass. In this way, the viewer was invited to reflect on the Passion of Christ within the larger context of the salvific history. When the altarpiece was opened on feast days, the beholders saw the narrative progression from the childhood to the Passion to the Resurrection of Christ as a promise of their own acceptance in heaven. But this acceptance was predicated on the requirement that they previously, in commemoration of the Passion of Christ and in the awareness of their own death, had repented their sins: there is no salvation without tears.

The tears, however, remain at the crux of the paradoxical aesthetics of reception. We have tried in our analysis to discuss the relationship between the painted and shed tears. It seems that if the *Descent from the Cross* highlights the importance of certain biblical verses and the term *compassio*, central to popular prayer texts, then the purpose of the tearful composition is to let the viewer to partake in the reaction of compassion, as demonstrated by the Virgin and the Nicodemus/donor. But precisely in its refined, calculated visual rhetoric that aims at a passionate, visceral experience, the painting asserts itself as a deftly crafted image that suggests not only compassionate but also aesthetic kind of reception: instead of eliciting immediate identification with the protagonists, the exquisitely represented tears might call attention, instead, to the unusual degree of observation and artistic refinement that allows for this very kind of representation. If, indeed, the aesthetic and the emotional compete in the Madrid Deposition, then, perhaps, Michelangelo was right in his verdict: in front of good paintings one does not cry.³⁵

NOTES

1. Fazio's formula reads as following: "profluentibus lachrimis, servata dignitate." On Bartolomeo Fazio, see Michael Baxandall, *Giotto and the Orators: Humanist Observers of Painting in Italy and the Discovery of Pictorial Composition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), 97–120, esp. 108–109, 167 (Latin text).
2. I would like to thank my colleagues and staff at the University of Konstanz—Steffen Bogen, David Ganz, Anna Magnago Lampugnani, Marius Rimmele, and Jürgen Stöhr—for valuable suggestions.

In art historical literature the Madrid *Descent from the Cross* is generally attributed to Rogier van der Weyden's early oeuvre. In my opinion, this must be viewed as a work created by Robert Campin (most likely with the help of Rogier van der Weyden) around 1430. On the attributions up to the

- present, see Felix Thürlemann, *Robert Campin: A Monograph with Critical Catalogue* (New York: Prestel, 2002), 109–130, 279–283. As questions of connoisseurship do not play a central role in the present context, the naming of an artist will be dispensed with in the following for the present.
3. Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Paintings: Its Origin and Character* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1953), 1:258.
 4. Francisco de Hollanda, *Vier Gespräche über die Malerei geführt zu Rom 1538*. Original text with translation, introduction, addenda, and explanations by Joaquim de Vasconcellos (Vienna: Carl Graeser, 1899), 28: “A pintura de Frandes, respondeu devagar o pintor, satisfará, senhora, geralmente a qualquer devoto, mais que nenhuma de Italia, que lhe nunca fará chorar uma só lagrima, e a de Frandes muitas; isto não polo vigor e bondade d’aquela pintura, mas pola bondade d’aquela tal devoto. A molheres parecerá bem, principalmente ás muito velhas, ou ás muito moças, e assi mesmo a frades e a freiras, e a alguns fidalgos desmusicos da verdadeira harmonia.” For the English translation, see Francisco de Hollanda, *Diálogos em Roma (1538): Conversations on Art with Michelangelo Buonarroti*, ed. Grazia Dolores Folliero-Metz, with a preface by Wolfgang Drost (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1998), 76–77.
 5. This is at least Michelangelo’s first reaction. In the following sentence he also states that the Netherlandish have a unique sense of exterior precision in their painting (de Hollanda, *Conversations on Art*, 77): “In Flanders, they paint with a view to external exactness,” whereas Michelangelo is referring here to the genre of landscape painting (de Hollanda, *Vier Gespräche*, 28: “Pintam em Frandes propriamente pera enganar a vista exterior”). In his *Pietà*, begun in 1550 but not completed (today located in the cathedral of Florence), in which Michelangelo portrays himself in the figure of Nicodemus, he revised the critical judgment reported by Francesco de Hollanda about Flemish painting *in praxi*. Michelangelo’s figure group harkens back to Rogier van der Weyden’s *Entombment of Christ* (today in the Uffizi), which was found since circa 1460 in Florence or rather in the chapel of the Medici country estate in Careggi. For the relationship between Michelangelo’s *Pietà* and Rogier’s *Entombment*, in which the tearstained figure of Nicodemus likely represents a portrait of Cosimo de’ Medici cast in the role of Nicodemus, see John Pope-Hennessy, *The Portrait in the Renaissance* (London: Phaidon, 1966), 298ff.; and Felix Thürlemann, *Rogier van der Weyden: Leben und Werk* (Munich: Beck, 2006), 107.
 6. Barasch, “Crying Face,” 21–36.
 7. Elkins, *Pictures & Tears*.
 8. See, for example, Ganz, “Spuren der Bildwerdung.”
 9. For a presentation of the aesthetics of reception, see Wolfgang Kemp, *Der Anteil des Betrachters* (Munich: Mäander, 1983); Wolfgang Kemp, ed., *Der Betrachter ist im Bild: Kunstwissenschaft und Rezeptionsästhetik* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1992). For an English introduction to the aesthetics of reception, see Wolfgang Kemp, “The Work of Art and Its Beholder: The Methodology of the Aesthetics of Reception,” in *The Subjects of Art History: Historical Objects in Contemporary Perspective*, ed. Mark A. Cheetham, Michael Ann Holly, and Keith Moxey, 180–196 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).
 10. Otto von Simson, “*Compassio* and *Co-redemptio* in Roger van der Weyden’s *Descent from the Cross*,” *Art Bulletin* 35 (1953): 9–16.
 11. See Peter Ulrich, *Imitatio et configuratio. Die Philosophia spiritualis Heinrich Seuses als Theologie der Nachfolge des Christus passus* (Regensburg: Pustet, 1995), esp. 62–76.

12. Philippians 3:10: “ad agnoscendum illum et virtutem resurrectionis eius et societatem passionum illius configuratus morti eius” (That I may know him, and the power of his Resurrection, and the fellowship of his sufferings, being made conformable unto his death).
13. If in early times tears are mentioned in connection with paintings, it is a question of real tears shed by images, not of their representation. See Sansterre, “L’image blessée,” 113–130. Famous are the weeping brothers in Giotto’s fresco of the burial of Saint Francis in the Bardi Chapel in Florence (1325). Also in the Berlin Crucifixion of Christ, which is generally attributed to Jan van Eyck or one of his followers, the crying of Mary and John is expressed by the gestures of the hands, the contorted facial expressions, and the squinted eyes with red eyelids, not by painted tears.
14. Barasch, “Crying Face,” 25, mentions the Entombment triptych in connection with the motif of the “drying of tears with the bare hand,” does not note—like Panofsky—the angels’ painted tears. See Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, 1:160.
15. Tears are not seen on the face of the Mother of God, which can possibly be ascribed to the poor condition of this part of the painting.
16. The Madrid *Descent from the Cross* is examined in relation to the ancient rhetorical theory by Robert Suckale, “Rogier van der Weydens Bild der Kreuzabnahme und sein Verhältnis zu Rhetorik und Theologie. Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Erneuerung der Stilkritik,” in *Meisterwerke der Malerei. Von Rogier van der Weyden bis Andy Warhol*, ed. Reinhard Brandt, 10–44 (Leipzig: Reclam, 2001). Whether the creator of the *Descent from the Cross* actually had contact with the ancient rhetoric is admittedly just as questionable as his very identity.
17. Regarding the *Stabat mater*, see Andreas Kraß, *Stabat mater dolorosa. Lateinische Überlieferung und volkssprachliche Übertragungen im deutschen Mittelalter* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1998). Also here is a thorough rhetorical analysis of the *Planctus beatae Mariae* (Bernhardstraktat), 121–126.
18. Literal interpretation according to <http://www.stabatmater.info/english.html> (accessed May 2, 2011).
19. About the text, which after the opening lines would also be named *Quis dabit* tract, see C. W. Marx, “The *Quis dabit* of Oglerius de Tridino, Monk and Abbot of Locedio,” *Journal of Medieval Latin* 4 (1994): 118–120 (Latin text); Thomas H. Bestul, *Texts of the Passion. Latin Devotional Literature and Medieval Society* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996), 165–185, appendix I (Latin text with English translation).
20. “Super illam dabant potius planctum quam super extinctum Dominum suum. [...] suo pio ploratu multos, etiam inuitos, trahebat ad luctum” (Marx, “*Quis dabit*,” 128, line 272–273, 129, line 288).
21. For example, in the sentence “Virginis dolorem posse narrari non credo.” See Marx, “*Quis dabit*,” 127, line 229.
22. It is not totally clear how this unusual figure in Passion iconography should be interpreted. Like Mary Magdalene, Peter, who denied Christ, is a repentant sinner and accordingly represented with her also in the *Ars moriendi* scene *Comfort in Doubt*. Speaking against the identification with the leader of the Apostles is the fact that the figure does not show any tears, although Peter was precisely famous for his tears of repentance.
23. For a detailed argumentation, see Thürlemann, *Robert Campin*, 90–99.
24. See Thürlemann, *Robert Campin*, 84–91, fig. 65. The doubts that have been admitted in the meantime about the attribution of the preliminary draft to Robert Campin’s own hand are, in my eyes, unfounded. The argument that states that a single among the many copies has the same, parallel position of

the angel's wing as the coal draft that the Paris sheet shows has little weight; see Stephan Kemperdick, *Der Meister von Flémalle. Die Werkstatt Robert Campins und Rogier van der Weydens* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997), 52–55. Fritz Koreny's claim that in 1425 no cross-hatching yet existed is unfounded; see Fritz Koreny, "Drawings by Vrancke van der Stockt," *Master Drawings* 41 (2003): 267–292. The underdrawing on the center panel of the Mérode Triptych, which almost all researchers date between 1425 and 1428, not only shows the extensive cross-hatching, but the style of the unusually dense underdrawing of the Mérode Triptych made visible by infrared photography is so closely related to the style of the drawing of *The Bearing of the Body of Christ to the Tomb* that one cannot doubt they have the same authorship. There is also no reason to question the attribution of the Mérode Triptych to Robert Campin and to see the Brussels Annunciation as the older work. See Felix Thürlemann, "Schüler von Robert Campin sein," in *Emil Bosshard Paintings Conservator (1945–2006). Essays by Friends and Colleagues*, ed. Maria de Peverelli, 234–255 (Florence: Centro Di, 2009).

25. See Thürlemann, *Robert Campin*, 89, ill. 73. Among the preserved specimens, the Meleager sarcophagus represented there comes closest to the composition created by Campin. For the discussion of the sarcophagus as the source of inspiration, see Salvatore Settis, "Ars moriendi. Cristo e Meleagro," *Annali della Scuola normale superiore di Pisa* 4, no. 1–2 (2000): 145–170, where surprisingly the Nordic example, which has temporal primacy, is not mentioned. Settis's assumption, that the Italians viewed the relationship between the ancient hero Meleager and Christ typologically, might have also already been valid for Campin. It can be assumed that Campin got to know the ancient sarcophagus that served as a model for him when on a pilgrimage to Rome.
26. The complete speech of Christ to the disciples states, in the King James Bible translation: "Behold my hands and my feet, that it is I myself: handle me, and see; for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me have."
27. On the important role of seeing in the early presentation of the passion with reference to individual Bible verses and their exegesis by the church fathers, see Jennifer O'Reilly, "Early Medieval Text and Image. The Wounded and Exalted Christ," *Peritia* 6–7 (1987–1988): 72–118, esp. 94–100.
28. See André Wilmart, "Un opusculé sur la confession composé par Guy de Southwick vers la fin du XII^e siècle," *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 7 (1953): 342. For other typologies of tears by the church fathers and the authors of the Middle Ages, see Pierre Adnès, "Larmes," in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, ed. Marvel Viller (Paris: Beauchesne, 1976), 9:287–303.
29. Wilmart, "Un opusculé," 417: "Lacrimas compunctionis habuit illa beata peccatrix que lacrimis rigauit pedes domini Iesu."
30. This was first done in 1846 by Johann David Passavant and renewed in 1966 with more detailed explanatory statement by Mojmir Frinta. For a more complete representation of the research history, see Thürlemann, *Robert Campin*, 235–251.
31. An exact measurement of the Madrid *Descent from the Cross* has revealed that four "Flémalle" wings together with two small wings—the usual form of the polyptych in the early Netherlandish painters—exactly cover the Madrid *Descent from the Cross* (see Thürlemann, *Robert Campin*, 117–118). Inside, the two small wings show the necessary supplement to the shortened representation of the arms of the cross on the central panel. Together the seven panels show a polyptych of the "inverted T-shape," as Lynn F. Jacobs described in numerous Netherlandish examples; see Lynn F. Jacobs, "The Inverted T-Shape in Early Netherlandish Altarpieces. Studies in the Relationship Between Painting and Sculpture," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 57

(1991): 33–65. A lot of evidence supports the idea that Rogier van der Weyden played an important role in Robert Campin's workshop in the accomplishment of the mighty work. For the concept, however—the *Descent from the Cross* proves to be a further development of *The Bearing of the Body of Christ to the Tomb* altarpiece, which Robert Campin probably created several years earlier for a church in Lille—Campin is alone responsible. For *The Bearing of the Body of Christ to the Tomb* altar passed down in several copies, see Thürlemann, *Robert Campin*, 84–91. A hindrance to connoisseurship is that the head work (the conception) and the handiwork (the execution) are not differentiated. See Felix Thürlemann, "Händescheidung ohne Köpfe? Dreizehn Thesen zur Praxis der Kennerschaft am Beispiel der Meister von Flémalle/Rogier van der Weyden-Debatte," *Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte* 62 (2005): 225–232.

32. Jochen Sander, *Niederländische Gemälde im Städel 1400–1550* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1993), 90.
33. For the lost wing on the outer left—as a symmetrical complement to the Veronica wing on the outer right—the figure of Saint Luke as painter can be postulated. *The Bearing of the Body to the Tomb* triptych in Lille shows the following narrative sequence: Bearing the Cross (left wing), Bearing the Body to the Grave (central panel), Resurrection (right wing). See the copy from the workshop of the master of Frankfurt in Thürlemann, *Robert Campin*, 87, ill.70.
34. This link between the childhood and the death of Christ is an image concept that was already proven in diptychs of the Siennese Trecento. For an example, see Thürlemann, *Robert Campin*, 120, ill. 108. A surprising similarity to the Louvain polyptych (in its open state) is seen in Peter Paul Rubens's 1617 painted epitaph, the so-called Michielsen Triptych (Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten). On the left wing, the Mother of God with the child is shown, on the central panel the Lamentation, and on the right wing—in reference to the donor Jan Michielsen—John the Evangelist. On the outside likewise simulated sculptures in grisaille are presented. When Rubens painted his triptych, the Louvain *Descent from the Cross* had long since lost its wings, and the original middle panel was located in the Escorial, where it arrived at the latest in 1574. Yet I consider it probable that Rubens knew of a copy of the *Descent from the Cross* altar that—different from all maintained copies—was still seen with the wings. On the Michielsen Triptych, see most recently Lynn F. Jacobs, "Rubens and the Northern Past: The Michielsen Triptych and the Thresholds of Modernity," *Art Bulletin* 91 (2009): 302–424. Likewise, Jacobs in this article provides a narrative, lateral reading of Rubens's triptych and sees in the representation of Saint John a reference to the resurrected Christ: "Although [...] the right wing does not directly represent Christ nor any event from his life, its position next to the Lamentation and its imagery of Saint John evoke the notion of Christ's ascent into heaven" (314).
35. It is enlightening that in the oldest preserved testimony in which the Madrid *Descent from the Cross* is mentioned, the work is judged with the help of two separate categories, one aesthetic (*natural*—"natural") and one religious (*deuota*—"pious"). See Vicente Álvarez, *Relación del camino y buen viaje que hizo el Príncipe de España Don Phelipe [...] 1548 [...] s.l., s.d.* [Brussels, 1551], without pagination: "un retablo del descendimiento de la Cruz, que era la mejor pieça que auia en la casa, y avn creo que en todo el mundo, porque vi en aquellas partes muchas, y muy buenas pinturas, y ninguna de pinzel, llegaua aquella de muy natural, y deuota, y deste parecer fueron todos los que lo vieron: aquel retablo dizen que ha mas de ciento, y cincuenta años

que es heco, y estaua en Lobayna, donde la Reyna Maria lo mando traer, y dexo alla vn retracto del quasi tan bueno, y muy bien facado al natural, y de muy buena mano, mas toda via le hazia mucha venta ja el propio.” The panel was then housed in the chapel of the Binche castle, the residence of Maria of Burgundy, the Spanish governor in the Netherlands. This shows that the topic of the painting was not indifferent. As the quality of the original and the copy were comparatively judged with the expression *bueno* (good), the aesthetic category was nevertheless the dominant one. For a French translation of the passage, see Suzanne Sulzberger, “La descente de croix de Rogier van der Weyden,” *Oud Holland* 78 (1963): 150.

Part II

Tears and Religious Experience

5 A Penitent Prepares Affect, Contrition, and Tears

Christopher Swift

In his poem *La Trivagia*, Juan del Encina wrote about his pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the company of the Marquis Fadrique Enríquez de Ribera and others Spanish noblemen. The form of Encina's account broke from traditional pilgrimage poetry by infusing the verse with particularly personal and uncharacteristically emotional language.¹ Encina's eyewitness narrative of penitential procession in Jerusalem gave readers of Castilian a textual touchstone for creating an imaginative pilgrimage in the Holy Land:

Oh how many sobs, moans, and tears,
from devout people, then sounded;
from one mystery to another they walked barefoot,
praying and weeping with sorrow and grief.²

La Trivagia received multiple printings alongside Enríquez de Ribera's *Viaje de Jerusalem*, a prose account of the Marquis's trip to Jerusalem. *Viaje* was the basis for the establishment of the *Vía Crucis* (Way of the Cross) in Seville, a processional route that duplicated Jerusalem's *Via Dolorosa* by following measurements taken by Enríquez de Ribera.³ In effect, *La Trivagia* and *Viaje de Jerusalem* provided late medieval penitents with a guidebook for the transposition of the Holy City onto the cityscape of Seville. Following the Stations of the Cross, the route became the locus of penitential self-flagellation that took place during Holy Week.⁴ Within the physical narrative of the suffering of Christ, penitential scourging was a ritual frame that combined acts of weeping and self-inflicted pain. To varying degrees, bodies of penitents were stripped bare, and the tips of scourges wiped with wax in order to draw blood. The pain felt by flagellants had the power to bring forth tears, and it is likely that sweat and tears would have soaked their white, linen hoods.⁵

The Seville *Vía Crucis* began in the chapel of the palace of Enríquez de Ribera and concluded at a location outside the city walls known as *Cruz del Campo*. Along the way, existing religious structures served to mark the Stations of the Cross: the Convent of San Agustín stood for the place

where Christ encounters the Virgin Mary and a hermitage near Cruz del Campo indicated the location for celebrants to contemplate the Deposition of Christ. The eighth station of the cross, “las hijas de Sion, llorando a Cristo” (the daughters of Zion, crying for Christ), offered the most obvious opportunity for the observers of the procession to enter into the historical narrative with tearful reenactments of pity. At this moment, Encina’s lyrical report of “devout people . . . weeping with sorrow and grief” would have provided a suggestive space for enjoining historical narrative with actualization of the Passion in perpetual, ritual time.⁶

Preparation for public displays of sorrow and contrition in late medieval penitential procession, a phenomenon that was prevalent in Spain, would likely have been aided by the reading of texts like Encina’s poem, in addition to theological tracts from the patristic period through the sixteenth century.⁷ Evidence suggests that public weeping—whether provoked by impassioned preaching, infused into mortification rituals, or responding to a crisis—was something that could be learned, practiced, and repeated by the lay community.⁸ Prepared crying was also likely aided by a myriad of liturgical and devotional practices imbued with narratives of sacrifice and forgiveness.⁹

Since the production of tears in either the context of the confessional or public rituals of penance did not always arise spontaneously in response to chance misfortune, our understanding of theatrical affect and cognitive study of emotion suggests new paths of research into medieval practices. I juxtapose late medieval public penance and crying on the modern stage—admittedly an unlikely pair—not to provide analogical evidence of medieval methods for manufacturing and reading tears; certainly attitudes towards, and paradigms of, the body are historically contingent. Nor is it my intention to inscribe penitential practices within a “ritual/theater” binary. However, unlike culturally bound styles of habit and ways of reading subjects, certain biological parameters dictate limits on, and blueprints of, expression and reception, which may persist across historical boundaries.

Since the 1980s, when the social constructionist view of emotions was most influential, new psychological studies on evolutionary and genetic components of emotion provide information on the existence of a substratum of emotional structures that exist across culture and time.¹⁰ Within basic cognitive and evolutionary parameters, communities and individuals rehearse common emotions in ways that meet the horizon of expectation within a specific culture. It follows, then, that in order to realize these social expectations, individuals must develop specific methods of integrating basic human feelings with legible corporal and vocal signs to be read not only by the community, but also by social actors themselves as they physiologically process their feelings.¹¹ It is my observation that there appears to be some correspondence between emotive methods of late medieval penitents and early twentieth-century stage performers, in particular the compelling congruities between medieval practices of sorrowful affect and Constantin Stanislavsky’s concepts of affective cognition and memory.

An advantage of entering medieval penitential tears into a theatrical conversation is that it puts into question the assumption of a perfect, incorruptible link between institutional forgiveness and contrite behavior in sacramental practices. Certainly not all acts of absolution responded to complete sincerity and feelings of contrition on the part of the penitent. Additionally, the expectation for tears doubtlessly bore heavily on the penitent, and even if the penitent deeply felt the weight of her or his own sin and willingly expressed the need for absolution, tears and other signs of sentiment may have been difficult to summon at the moment of confession. Public and private scenes of contrition and sorrow presented occasions where the shame, fear, and anxiety of a penitent contemplating her or his sins would interrupt the process of sincere expressions of contrition, or encourage deceitful representations of inner feelings, regardless of their depth.¹² For example, in the Carolingian period, commentators understood blushing (a manifestation of inner shame) as an outward sign of a penitent's unwillingness to "uncover the sore" that was their sin.¹³

Throughout the Middle Ages, confessors were given detailed instructions on ways to coax meaningful and sincere expressions of repentance. It follows that despite the scarcity of literature testifying to the experience of laypeople during confession and other acts of contrition, they also contemplated the challenge of physical *becoming*, and devised means of their own for accessing emotive spirituality. As Karen Wagner argues, we must consider physical and emotional encounters of the lay community with sacramental and public acts of contrition if we are to better understand changes and developments in the liturgies and institutionalized methods that responded to these encounters.¹⁴ I would add that there is value in investigating lay devotional practices for the sake of better understanding the corporal and mental practices of the ritual performer.

Finally, recontextualizing penitential devotion in theatrical terms is especially relevant in the late medieval period because although a penitent may have had experiences of true remorse in confession and private devotional practices, performative penance in public arenas presented an entirely different frame of experience. When private rituals of tearful confession expanded into public performance in the later Middle Ages, expressions of emotional contrition garnered social prerogatives in the presentation and reception of affective play. For example, during tearful petitioning of God for relief from famine or plague, emotive devotional displays were mediated by networks of communal and interpersonal expectancy. In this case, the true expressions of remorse were not only crucial for the individual remission of sin, but, more importantly, for the salvation of the entire community.

Like the art of a stage actor, penitential behavior and sincere expressions of sorrow could be cognitively, emotionally, and physically rehearsed in advance. In some cases—as in the sacrament of confession—penitents of public rituals were obligated to weep on cue. Sánchez Gordillo reported

many instances where penitential processions began in silent reverence and culminated in coordinated, clamorous expressions of sorrow later in the ritual.¹⁵ Weeping upon command, sometimes at the precise moment the behavior was summoned (as part of the narrative recreation of the Passion of Christ, for instance), is similar to the experience of an actor who develops deep faith in the imaginative world of the drama by relying on texts, memories, and mental images in order to produce believable emotion on cue. With this in mind, I would like to instigate new consideration of public weeping in medieval ritual and penitential acts with the following two questions: how did the lay community of late medieval Spain conceive of affective contrition, and what tools were available to penitents in order to prepare themselves for public weeping?

THEORIZING MEDIEVAL CONTRITION

For a medieval penitent, demonstrating sincere contrition was a crucial step towards receiving forgiveness from god. In light of the fact that contrition denoted “a corporeal passion,”¹⁶ honest, purposeful contrition and sorrow required outward, somatic signs and gestures, and one of the most effective was the expression of tears. Penitential weeping can be traced to the early medieval period through the sacrament of confession, where priests were instructed to encourage lachrymose practices. In *ordines* from the end of the Carolingian period, Wagner writes, the “expectation of tears and other physical manifestations of internal remorse is commonplace.”¹⁷ The following instructions from a tenth century manuscript from Fulda were to be carried out after oral confession:

[W]hen [the penitent] has said this, he should completely prostrate himself on the ground and bring forth from the depth of his heart groans and signs and tears just as God should give to him. The priest should allow him to lie prostrate for a few moments, until he sees that he is contrite through divine inspiration. Then the priest should order him to get up.¹⁸

As Wagner points out, the church fathers were aware of the potential for false expressions of remorse, and so in many of these *ordines*, the confessor is expected to both *induce* and *participate in* the penitent’s feelings of remorse during the ritual. Priests were encouraged to bring about these feelings by providing gestures meant for mimetic duplication by the penitent, as well as subsequently mimicking the penitent’s own expressions of remorse and sadness.¹⁹ The idea of communicating recognizable and true emotions between penitential actor and clerical audience through sympathetic responses of the sensorial systems of the body is not at all unlike Stanislavsky’s concept of spiritual identification with the inner creative state, as detailed below.

Changes in confessional theology and practice were occurring in the High Middle Ages, and by the twelfth century, *contritio*—a state of sorrow for one's sins that justified grace—was front and center in the discussion of penance. Acts of visible remorse during confession lay the groundwork for *contritio*. In developing the concept, theologians depended on early Christian writers for their authority. Cyprian wrote: “[d]o penance in full, give proof of the sorrow that comes from a grieving and lamenting soul. . . . [T]hey who do away with repentance for sin, close the door to satisfaction.”²⁰ In *De Paenitentia*, Tertullian expounds on the particularly performative “exomologesis,” physical acts of contrition that elicit a sympathetic response from an audience of priests and devotees:

Exomologesis is a discipline for man's prostration and humiliation, enjoining a demeanor calculated to move mercy. With regard also to the very dress and food, it commands (the penitent) to lie in sackcloth and ashes, to cover his body in mourning, to lay his spirit low in sorrows, to exchange for severe treatment the sins which he has committed . . . , to feed prayers on fasting, to groan, to weep and make outcries unto the Lord your God; to bow before the feet of the presbyters, and kneel to God's dear ones; to enjoin on all the brethren to be ambassadors to bear his deprecatory supplication (before God).²¹

During the Scholastic period there was greater recognition of the need for the priest-confessor to supervise the process of confession in order to steer penitents away from feigned remorse and fully enunciate an emotional action.²² In order for a confession to be valid, and to justify absolution and increase in grace, clerics were instructed to seek from the penitent demonstrations of sufficient contrition, which often meant the display of tears.²³ Expressions of remorse arising from fear rather than profound humility were provided a distinct—less potent—sacramental category called attrition: “Attrition denotes approach to perfect contrition. . . . [I]n spiritual matters, attrition signifies a certain but not perfect displeasure for sins committed, whereas contrition denotes perfect displeasure.”²⁴ Aquinas suggests that physical and verbal signs presented by an attrite person did not include sorrow or grief, or at least that expressive remorse was overshadowed by confessions motivated by fear of damnation; moreover, contrition and attrition required different interventions by the priest during the sacramental ritual.

Scholastic theologians carefully parsed these definitions, and opinions varied on the intercessory role of the priest and the necessity for contrition for absolution of sin.²⁵ The scrupulous attention paid to this issue by medieval theologians speaks to the importance of inner emotion in activating spiritual transformation, but it also reflects the lack of clarity in the communication of emotions during *practices* of expressing and identifying penitential affect. The combination of a new appreciation of an inner spiritual life to account for god's grace during this period, and the prerogatives

of priests to maintain their necessary role in the sacramental ritual, created a conundrum for theologians.²⁶ What were the recognizable qualities of, and relationships between, interior feelings of attrition and contrition and exterior signs and acts that would satisfy the sacrament? How does one determine if there exists a cause-and-effect connection between the two—or are they merely coincidental? The following passage from Peter Lombard's *Four Books of Sentences* fairly illustrates the type of gnarled reasoning employed to engage with the complexity of the issue:

And as in the sacrament of the Body, so also in this sacrament, they say that one thing, namely the outward penance, is the sacrament alone, another the sacrament and the “res,” [the thing of the sacrament of penance] namely the inward penance, and still another the “res” and not the sacrament, namely, the remission of sins. For the inward Penance is also the “res” of the sacrament, that is, of the outward Penance, and the sacrament of the remission of sin which it symbolizes and causes. The outward Penance is also the sign of the inward and of the remission of sins.

By reasoning that interior penance and exterior penance are two sides of a single sacramental coin, each a “sign” and the “thing signified,” Lombard provisionally resolves conflicts between the two.²⁷

These complexities were likely of less concern to penitents themselves, who, in late medieval Spain, pursued forms of ecstatic, tearful remorse and sadness, especially in public devotional events.²⁸ Public weeping during festivals of the Christian calendar and rogation processions from the fifteenth century and into the early modern period occurred side by side with the rise in public acts of *imitatio Christi* by confraternities across Spain. The *Cofradía del Santo Entierro* of Seville, for example, was known for incorporating weeping into their penitential rituals of Holy Thursday.²⁹ Congruent with these developments, the doctrinal and experiential discourses within public penitential rituals were linked to the sacrament of confession, which was a prerequisite for communal acts of penance.³⁰ Another significant aspect of late medieval communal penance was the expanded ecclesiastical and theological focus on intention.³¹ Doubtlessly, the increased surveillance of intention and inner affect by the Church, as can be seen in inquisitorial activities, was integrated into the general structure of feeling in Spain at the time. This added a layer of consequence to the display of sincere contrition, including the necessity for penitents to enjoin inner remorse with an outward, corporal transcript of sorrow within the sightlines of the general public.

PENANCE, AFFECT, AND PAIN

The idea of an *inner* spiritual life counterpoised with an *outer* body capable of expressing spiritual/emotional truths and corporeal misinformation can be traced back to Aristotle. Karen Bassi writes:

From the point of view of Aristotle's analysis of dramatic impersonation, then, there exists an interdependence between the apprehension of internal feelings and thoughts and the apprehension of external acts and speech. We might say that this interdependence is a first principle of Aristotle's understanding of dramatic mimesis.³²

Aristotle's theatrical trope was rehearsed by Augustine and then reified in Christian confessional practices, as discussed earlier. Confession was a process that mapped, to quote Michael Mendelson, "transformation of affect from its 'inner' sensory life (Augustine's 'sensible world' of intangible objects) to outward, public expression in oral and corporal language (Augustine's 'intelligible world' of atemporal, eternal truths)."³³ In the later Middle Ages, mind/body duality was explored in a number of ways, and *affectus* was understood as a physiological state that operated within spheres of intellectual, spiritual, and somatic grounds. Firmly constituted in the ambivalent Christian attitudes and discourses of the body, as Mary Carruthers writes, "[a]ffection' and 'emotion' are both words that must be understood physiologically."³⁴ The particular Iberian concept *afeiçom* or *afecçion* speaks to the confluence of mutable emotions, physical infirmity, and emotional-sensory spiritual status.³⁵ The Ciceronian concept *afectio* was available in Castilian translation by the first quarter of the fifteenth century: "[afecçion] is called that change that occurs in the heart or in the body in some time for some reason, such as joy, lust, fear, sadness, illness, weakness or other such things."³⁶ Galenic medical philosophy confirms the responsive link between perturbations of the soul and physical effects, and this concept was rehearsed by the twelfth-century scholar-physician Moses Maimonides: "passions of the psyche produce changes in the body that are great, evident and manifest to all. . . . [C]oncern and care should always be given to the movements of the psyche; these should be kept in balance in the state of health as well as in disease, and no other regimen should be given precedence in any wise."³⁷

Conceptual *afecçion* was meted out and given form in late medieval Spanish communal penance, characterized especially by mortification of the flesh and public weeping. The theology of tearful contrition was promulgated by the fifteenth-century revivalist preacher Vincent Ferrer, whose sermons were well known for provoking tears. Ferrer was also at least partly responsible for bringing public practices of self-mortification—rituals already established in Germany and Italy—to Spain. Don Diego Ortiz de Zúñiga documents disciplinary activities among members of Seville confraternities from 1408, crediting Ferrer's presence in the city for the institution of public forms of disciplinary penance.³⁸ In the following century, Jesuits incorporated self-mortification and weeping into their catalogue of practices.³⁹ The Spanish devotional experience was profoundly influenced by Franciscan presence on the Peninsula, and it is believed that the preaching and teachings of friars was one of the causes for the dramatic rise in rituals of

public penance, especially self-mortification rites during Holy Week.⁴⁰ And for Franciscans, tears were cleansing.⁴¹

Prior to the early modern period when confraternities monopolized the practice and scourging became an organized, calendar event, late medieval public penance was practiced by men, women, and children from a cross-section of society. The following vivid description by Henri Ghéon is illustrative:

[W]ith faces veiled, backs and shoulders bared . . . the men and women Flagellants came to the church behind the friar and his assistants. All intoned the chant that [Ferrer] had composed for the Confraternity. . . . And the voice of supplication repeated the word “mercy” again and again and again. Then the voices died away, the Flagellants knelt down before the porch; the moment had come. There was no longer a cry to be heard or a word. No sound in the air save the noise as of heavy rain produced by the blows of scourges upon flesh. . . . Often the people, swept on by example, would tear off their clothes to imitate the scourgers. Men and women joined in, and children little more than babies.⁴²

Ghéon’s narrative testifies to spontaneous penitential acts that arose out of ritual, suggesting that the boundaries between spectators and *disciplinantes* (penitents partaking in self-mortification) often broke down, if ever a clear line existed at all. Importantly for our concerns here, the structural division between moments of crying and scourging speaks to aspects of the ritual that also required emotional, psychophysical planning.

Manifestations of petitionary and rogation flagellant processions are documented on the Iberian Peninsula from the turn of the fourteenth century, and the Brotherhood of the True Cross existed in Toledo, Seville, and Zamora in the fifteenth century.⁴³ Confraternity of *La Preciosa Sangre de Cristo* (the Precious Blood of Christ) and other confraternities of the Passion and Penitence were active from the fifteenth century in Seville, while less organized forms of Passion devotion are documented from the fourteenth century.⁴⁴ The *Vera Cruz*, the first known confraternity to officially incorporate self-flagellation into their Holy Week processional activities, was founded in 1448.⁴⁵ Although it wasn’t until 1538 that an indulgence from Rome sanctioned formalized Holy Week self-mortification rites, penitential practices in public were already an established tradition in Seville and elsewhere.⁴⁶

Within a few years, several Seville penitential confraternities adopted Enríquez de Ribera’s *Vía Crucis* for their processional route, using it as a site for engaging in acts of flagellation and reciting prayers.⁴⁷ Spectators of these, and many other occasions for performative penance, insinuated themselves into ritual theater with tearful demonstrations, as described in Encina’s poem. By the early sixteenth century, both male and female confraternity members participated in penitential processions, and although women were later banned from flagellant activities by the Church, they played a part

in the procession in other ways. Women entered the procession carrying candles, tending to penitents' wounds, wiping their brows, and offering water; these merciful interventions into the processional flow were mimetic of Veronica's legendary role in the Passion.⁴⁸ Women also partook in public weeping, which during Holy Week would have strongly suggested an imitation of the Virgin Mary, who, from the central Middle Ages in Spain, was the primary focal point for devotion in the constellation of Saints. In other words, it would be a mistake to suggest that spectators at the edges of the processional were in some way excluded from the ritual action, physically or otherwise. Members of the community who did not shed their own blood performing self-mortification rituals had many opportunities to participate actively in the dramatic narrative, perhaps most concretely by interfacing with the temporal-spatial narrative of Christ's journey to Golgotha and assuming the biblical roles of witnesses.

I do not believe the simultaneity of the phenomena of tearful lamentations and bloodshed during Holy Week flagellant processions were at all coincidental in Spain. Disclosure of human blood resonated metonymically with the expelling of fluid tears. The Spanish Passion procession was a gateway for the mobilization of *afección*; it was a path for the tortured body to accomplish affective empathy and engage performative memory, not as a representation of the past, but rather as a "perpetually actual phenomenon, a bond tying us to the eternal present."⁴⁹ Passion performances—infused with the Franciscan image of Christ as a visceral, porous god—were ways for people to mediate competing demands on the social subject, between imitative and doctrinal mediums. These dichotomies were bridged by the technical and kinesthetic accomplishment of performing bodies to imitate the divine, fetishizing the sensuality and openness of the body in pain. The suffering flesh was conceived of as open and malleable, and the present experience of a bleeding, tearful body coalesced around a nexus of emotional and athletic engagement with sacred narrative. The corporal technique of recalling the divine into being depended on the human subject effectuating a union of contrition with imitation, and the degree to which this junction was possible was directly connected to the degree of commitment, imagination, and concentration of the ritual participant. One is reminded of Antonin Artaud's call for a theater that "operates by exaltation and force," making it capable of "a sense of life in which man fearlessly makes himself master of what does not yet exist, and brings it into being."⁵⁰

THE SCIENCES OF CRYING AND ACTING

For both medieval penitents and theatrical practitioners, affective processes suggest more than ephemeral emotionality or miraculous spiritual transformation: forethought, emotion, and memory are embedded into the human physical frame, which includes interconnected neuropathic systems of

communication. As Carolyne Larrington has pointed out, recent research on cognition and emotion suggests that a repertory of elemental, cross-cultural emotional states are stock materials for moral and social behavior that play out in specific ways and in specific cultural settings.⁵¹ In other words, basic human feelings like guilt, sorrow, and anger are methods all humans use to prepare for action in social life, and the manifestation of these affective methods (blushing, tears, and screaming) are accessed when particular social preconditions and systems of communication elicit appropriate means. While the texts of the medieval and early modern poets, commentators, and priests examined here do acknowledge links between inner and outer affect, more recent sciences of acting and cognition—not available to these writers—reinforce and give meaningful texture to the theories and idioms of Juan del Encina, Juan de Ávila, and other late medieval Spanish writers.

In addition to Encina's poem discussed earlier, late medieval poetic and devotional culture in Spain provided a number of texts establishing models of behaviors for Iberians to understand contrition and tears. The translation of Ludolph of Saxony's *Vita Christi* was widely available in late medieval Spain and influenced the theology of Ignatius Loyola. In the *Vita*, Ludolph recommends that the penitent "try as hard as he can to have tears" while pondering the Passion.⁵² The apostolic preacher Juan de Ávila, who spent most of his professional life as a priest in Seville and Granada performed sermons linking the blood of Christ (and by inference the blood of self-flagellants) with the shedding of tears. His sermons were so popular, people thronged churches to hear him preach.⁵³ The prose of his impassioned sermon was clearly designed to emotionally engage his audience:

The blood of Christ, pour it and take it in your soul; I know for certain it will penetrate your soul, will make the non-religious devout, and make the remiss ardent in their love of God, and make the peevish tender and loving. Pour it into your soul; there is no balm that penetrates as much. If not, tell me, when you stop to think about the passion of Christ, do you not feel that you are affected with new love and new devotion? Did it not soften the soul? Do you not gain strength? Do you not ask forgiveness for your sins? Do you not shed tears? Oh delicious tears that spill out for the passion of Christ, they do melt in his love!⁵⁴

The use of the liquiform metaphor was no doubt intentional. By establishing the highly sensual image in their minds, Ávila fashioned an imaginative domain for his listeners to enter into with tears of their own. In his famous spiritual treatise the *Audi Filia*, Ávila suggests that the proper devotional attitude, *afectos*, can be obtained by moving one's attention away from outward affect and back on the inner devotional image:

[I]f with your quiet thought, the Lord gives you tears, compassion and other devout feelings, you should take them, on the condition that the

excess with which they overcome you is not so great as to notably harm your health, or to leave you so weak in resisting them that they make you cry out and make other exterior signs to show what you feel; because if you become accustomed to such things, you will eventually do them in public, and with great notoriety, just as in your room, without being able to resist; for which it is reasonable that you flee: and for this you have to accept these feelings or tears; of such art, do not follow too far behind, lest you lose the thought or spiritual affection [*afección espiritual*] that caused them. Take care that the thought endures, but, as to the exterior and sensual thing, pay no attention. . . . [T]he feeling of the sensitive or corporal part does not last, nor does it allow the spiritual sentiment to last, it only has it if it doesn't follow the corporal.⁵⁵

Embedded in this text is evidence for weeping in public, and the notoriety brought to the penitent through tearful display, an activity Ávila clearly opposes.

Aligning with the inner image of remorse, devotional paintings and objects were available for contemplation and preparation for tearful penitential performances. In *Audi Filia*, Ávila documents the tradition of adorning images for use in ritual devotion in order to obtain states of intense sorrow and contrition: "And when they want to take a statue, in order to cause weeping, they dress it in mourning and put on it everything that encourages sadness."⁵⁶ Perhaps the most evocative representations in Seville's Holy Week procession were statues of weeping Virgin Marys transported in litters, devotional objects that grew in popularity through the early modern period and remain the main focal point of sacred devotion in Seville to this day.⁵⁷ These statues—and many others like them—encouraged empathetic association with the sorrows of the Virgin Mary and "loving contemplation of the tortured Christ"⁵⁸ through the navigation of one's own physiological and emotional apparatus.

Texts, sermons, and artifacts are enticing suggestions of expressive affect in late medieval Spain, but we can also rely on certain biological parameters, and, as a consequence, late nineteenth-century approaches to stage acting to explore penitential tears further. The biological function of crying, a universal mechanism among humans, is physiologically bound to the infantile auditory distress signal for the mother. Silvan Tomkins—one of the main proponents of the evolutionary theory of emotion—theorized that the translation of the distress of hunger into grief expressed at a loss of a loved one, for example, takes place within the overall affect of "distress-anguish." Although due to the different assemblies of neurological information the experiences of the two affects are quite different, the neurological responses of both are contained within the universal affect of distress-anguish that materializes in tearful wailing.⁵⁹ In addition to being communicative, crying is a complex combination of an appraisal of one's own affective state, information gathered from one's environment, and

manifold physiological processes. According to Tomkins, affect is intrinsic to motivation because it stems from the need for humans to prepare for action; crying is performed in order to elicit a response.⁶⁰

This suggests that Holy Week penitents had the capacity to equip themselves with emotional response mechanisms prior to, and during, the reenactment of Christ's Passion. As Jonathan Gratch and Stacy Marsella demonstrate in their study of emotional and cognitive reciprocity, "purely mental 'events' can evoke strong emotions," and these events are constructed around planning for future tasks and desired outcomes:

[B]y maintaining an explicit representation of an agent's plans one can easily reason about future possible outcomes—essential for modeling emotions like hope and fear that involve future expectations. Explicit representations allow one to recognize how the plans or actions of an agent facilitate or hinder the goals of others—essential for modeling emotions like anger or reproach which typically involve multiple actors.⁶¹

Perhaps not so coincidentally, tears are among a number of signs that obtain a privileged status in many western performance traditions by their power to transcend theatricality and express something "true." The particular involuntary sensorial response mechanisms and bodily functions that fall into this category include tears, goose pimples, blushing, sweating, sneezing, coughing, yawning, "corpsing" (unintentional stage laughter), fainting, bleeding, spitting, and urinating, among others. A number of actors in theater history—from Sarah Siddons to Meryl Streep—have gained renown for their ability to produce wet tears. The nineteenth-century French actress Marie Dorval produced "cries of poignant truthfulness, heartbreaking sobs, intonations so natural and tears so sincere that one forgot it was the theatre."⁶² The nineteenth-century Russian actor Pavel Mochalov was so adept at bringing audiences to tears that even his fellow actors on stage would cry in response to his performances.⁶³ The theatrical archive contains prolific examples of other body effects on stage. In Sam Shepherd's *Curse of the Starving Class*, the character of Wesley is required to urinate on Emma's homework, and some actors have performed the act in full view of the audience.⁶⁴ Experimental performers Ron Athey, Annie Sprinkle, Karen Finley, and Ernst Fisher have confronted the "Abject" in their art by performing, "those aspects of corporality—e.g. menstrual blood, saliva, faeces, urine—which the body must excrete and separate from in order to survive, but which are simultaneous reminders of our own inevitable decadence and mortality."⁶⁵ In medieval reenactments of the Passion during Corpus Christi, performers were known to spit and urinate on the actor playing Jesus.⁶⁶ Many critics (and patrons of the theater) have attested to unintentional spitting by actors during speeches of particularly heightened emotional content. Occurrences like corpsing, sneezing, and stumbling over stage furniture have the potential to be read by audiences as

spontaneous or accidental, and are therefore particularly compelling; other acts like spitting, profligate sobbing, and bloodletting tend to incite more visceral responses.⁶⁷

These phenomena are understood as unmediated physiological responses to stage events that occur either in response to, or in spite of, the conscious, pedestrian work of the actor beneath the veil of a character. From the point of view of audiences, auto-mechanical physical responses may trigger a sense of the Real emerging from the contrivance of the stage, and are thus of particular interest to scholars of performance and phenomenology. David Saltz argues that as much as audiences are cognizant of the fictional aspect of theater, they attend the theater to experience “a real event, to see real, flesh-and-blood actors perform real actions.”⁶⁸ The denouement of unmediated somatic effects fulfills this need. Marvin Carlson goes further by suggesting that witnessing an actor “give way to a kind of possession” that oscillates between the theatrical and the real, between “life and death, art and life, the thing itself and its double” provides the audience with a sense of the eternal and sacred.⁶⁹ Expressions of what might be called “physiognomic aphorisms” occurring on the body of the actor often outflank volitional stage signs, gestures, and languages in the minds of an audience, and have the potential to create the moments of epiphany Carlson describes. Read by the audience as an indication of an actor completely subsumed by the life of her character, tears often provoke an empathetic response, and both actors and audiences experience moments of immediacy and temporal transcendence that exceed the constructed-ness of the drama. In the late medieval penitential procession, such a boundary between actor and audience barely existed; every member of the Christian community had opportunities to enter the ritual scene. In order to effectively facilitate the act of becoming protagonists in the drama of contrition, these social actors relied on cognitive and physical tools to incorporate suggestive cultural texts into the domain of the inner emotions.

Throughout history, theater practitioners have exercised and refined physical and cognitive responsiveness in order to foster connections between mental processes and bodily phenomena, and to stimulate specific physiological triggers and neurosynthetic responses that pattern and release body effects.⁷⁰ In the modern era, Constantin Stanislavsky’s research and writing on acting technique, including the highly influential practitioner’s guide to the production of physiological effects—*An Actor Prepares*—may serve as a metonymic text for reflecting on late medieval penitential weeping.⁷¹ Stanislavsky’s theories of the stage arts are neither definitive nor universal⁷²; however, since the ontology of Stanislavsky’s System is founded on the principle of unity of inner and outer truths, it is useful for our purposes here. Stanislavsky, like late medieval commentators who were concerned with honest expressions of contrition, responded to contrived acting (in his case, the artifice of nineteenth-century melodrama, as he understood it).⁷³ Also, Stanislavsky’s abiding interest in spirituality offers a potent ground for

a comparative study to ritual performance. Recent research into Stanislavsky's own theatrical laboratory and writings has revealed a strong undercurrent of spiritual seeking that, like *imitatio Christi* and contrition, attempts to unite the individual with a sacred presence or practice.⁷⁴ The so-called progenitor of modern psychological realism emphasized the importance of external, physical commitment by the actor as a means of attaining an "inner, spiritual life" on stage.⁷⁵

Stanislavsky's methodology of attaining true or spiritual emotion was psychophysiological. His term for an actor's quality of concentration, *chuvstvennoe poznanie* (affective cognition), relies on the definitional ambiguity of the Russian word *chuvstva* to denote both affective and sensorial processes. Grounded in the present sensory experience of the body, emotional truth and the corporal response system are intimately intertwined in the affective life of the actor. Another influential concept, *affektivnaya pamiat'* (affective memory), incorporates into the actor's technique the power of memory to produce stage emotions.⁷⁶ Both of these concepts unite cognitive functions with the gestural and sensory tools of the actor, much like Aquinas's theory of physical contrition: "just as inward joy redounds into the outward parts of the body, so does interior sorrow show itself in the exterior members."⁷⁷ Stanislavsky also believed that exterior movements of the body could communicate the interior psycho-spiritual life of a person, and, like medieval clerics and theologians, he was suspicious of the body's aptitude to mechanically mimic life, without reproducing true experiences or feelings (what he called a "rubber stamp"): "[f]or this there has been worked out a large assortment of picturesque effects which pretend to portray all sorts of feelings through external means."⁷⁸ In the end, mechanical acting and false contrition lead to unsatisfactory performances that theatrical and ecclesiastic audiences were unwilling to believe.

The textual and spatial links that insinuate the human actor into the sacred narrative of Iberian penitence are not unlike Stanislavsky's "inner chain of circumstances which we ourselves have imagined in order to illustrate our parts."⁷⁹ This second of the Russian director's main tenets for the establishment of theater as art—imagination—is crucial for the actor who cannot draw on personal experience to fill out her or his character, and must look to a text to excite the spirit of creative invention. Stanislavsky's third principle, concentration of attention, is akin to late medieval *recogimiento* (recollection), a meditative technique and form of prayer popularized by the Seville-born Franciscan, Francisco de Osuna. Practitioners of *recogimiento* believed inward concentration on one's emotional and intellectual energies induced spiritual weeping, which cleared the soul for the entrance of god's graces.⁸⁰

Ávila's *Audi Filia* resonates with the Stanislavskian System in a number of ways. Ávila's prescription to avoid making excessive (in essence, melodramatic) "exterior signs to show what you feel" and "to accept these feelings or tears; of such art, do not follow too far behind, lest you lose

the thought or spiritual affection that caused them” reminds one of advice given to lachrymose performers of other periods.⁸¹ Almost a century later in London, Hamlet’s advice to the Player to “not saw the air too much with your hand,” and to “[s]uit the action to the word, the word to the action, with this special observance, that you o’erstep not the modesty of nature”⁸² echoes the sentiment. Even closer to Ávila’s point about spiritual honesty is Stanislavsky’s advice that “all action in the theatre must have an inner justification, be logical, coherent, and real.”⁸³

Other sections of *Audi Filia* align with the psychophysical methods explored in the sixth chapter of *An Actor Prepares*, devoted to the “relaxation of muscles” in order to allow the actor to “naturally and unconsciously put nature to work.”⁸⁴ Likewise, Ávila cautions against too much strain or show while praying, and to “guard against afflicting your heart with forced sadness in an effort to squeeze out a few tears.”⁸⁵ Ávila suggests that “you do not have to go by thought to contemplate the Lord in Jerusalem, where this happened; because this does much damage to the head and dries up devotion.” Rather, the best way to prayerfully imitate the Passion is to “take into account that you have him present there; and place the eyes of your soul on the feet of him, or on the ground near him; and with total reverence watch what then was happening, *as if* you were present; and listen to what the Lord was saying, with complete attention.”⁸⁶ These remarkable instructions immediately conjure one of the most recognizable tropes of modern acting technique in the west, Stanislavsky’s “magic *if*.” This tool of the imagination allows the actor to expediently produce a single inner circumstance in order to effectuate a chain of occupational transformations.⁸⁷ What is interesting about Ávila’s advocacy is his distinction between thinking about a prior event in a far away location and calling god into the immediate and simultaneous presence of the devotee. Ávila, much like Stanislavsky in *An Actor Prepares*, provides a passageway for the penitent to move from metaphor and memory to the present experience and presence of the divine. Every penitent seeks in the liquid wounds of Christ a rebirth of the soul without sin; or in the words of Stanislavsky, “[o]ur type of creativeness is the conception and birth of a new being—the person in the part. It is a natural act similar to the birth of a human being.”⁸⁸

* * *

Practitioners of somatic affect—theatrical and devotional—have at their disposal similar apparatuses for producing physiognomic aphorisms. Although tears shed during penitential processions in late medieval Spain may have been conditioned on rehearsals with texts and art objects, memory techniques, and practiced concentration and relaxation in prayer, we should not be led to believe that their experience or understanding of the event was in any way insincere in its theatricality. Likewise, we should leave open the possibility that actors of many traditions who experience

the synchronous moment of concentration, relaxation, memory, and action may obtain a feel of the sacred. Most importantly, we should consider the possibility that the historical persistence of particular discourses of the body (*sui generis* social rituals, in the Durkheimian sense)⁸⁹ may also hold genealogical information about cognitive and biological processes. The actor's craft and penitential behavior privilege the release of tears, and analogous features of each (and ways in which practices are interpreted by societies) may be a starting place for further research into the neurophysical lives of historical subjects.

NOTES

1. Lina Rodríguez Cacho, "El Viaje de Encina con el Marqués: otra lectura de la *Tribagia*," in *Humanism y Literatura en Tiempos de Juan del Encina*, ed. Javier Guijarro Ceballos, 167, 170 (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 1999).
2. "Oh cuántos sollozos, gemidos y llanto, de gentes devotas, entonces sonaban; de un misterio a otro descalzos andaban, rezando y llorando con duelo y quebranto." Juan de la Encina, *Trivagia*, in *Desde Sevilla a Jerusalén. Con versos de Juan de la Encina y prosa del primer marqués de Tarifa*, ed. Joaquín González Moreno, 214 (Seville: Caja de Ahorros de Sevilla, 1974). Translations of Spanish texts into English are my own throughout, unless otherwise indicated.
3. Fadrique Enríquez de Ribera, *Viaje de Jerusalem* (Lisbon, 1608; first published in Seville in 1521, again in 1606); see Fadrique Enríquez de Ribera, *Viaje de Jerusalem*, in *Desde Sevilla a Jerusalén. Con versos de Juan de la Encina y prosa del primer marqués de Tarifa*, ed. Joaquín González Moreno (Seville: Caja de Ahorros de Sevilla, 1974).
4. Susan Verdi Webster, *Art and Ritual in Golden-Age Spain* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998), 25–35. Scholarship on public acts of penance in late medieval Spain includes Severino Gonzáles Rivas, *La penitencia en la primitiva iglesia española* (Salamanca: Universidad Eclesiástica de Salamanca, 1949); Gabriel Llompart, "Penitencias y penitentes en la pintura y en la piedad catalanas bajomedievales," *Revista de Dialectología y Tradiciones Populares* 28, nos. 3–4 (1972): 229–249; Luis de Agromayor, *España en fiestas* (Madrid: Aguilar, 1987); Manuel J. Gómez Lara and Jorge Jiménez Barrientos, *Semana Santa: Fiesta Mayor en Sevilla* (Seville: Ediciones ALFAR, 1990); José Sánchez Herrero, *Las devociones pasionarias en la Sevilla de los siglos XIV y XV: Las hermanades de Jesús Nazareno* (Córdoba: Cajasur, 1991); Maureen Flynn, "The Spectacle of Suffering in Spanish Streets," in *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe*, ed. Barbara A. Hanawalt and Kathryn L. Reyerson, 153–168 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994).
5. Flynn, "Spectacle of Suffering," 154.
6. "En la octava Cruz, se considera, quando salieron las hijas de Sion, llorando a Christo, y les respondio su diuina Magestad: *No lloreis hijas de Sion*." (At the eighth station, it is thought, when the daughters of Zion went weeping for Christ, and their divine Majesty answered them: Do not cry daughters of Zion.) *Memoria muy devota y recuerdo muy provechoso, del camino trabajoso que hizo Christo Redemptor Nuestro, para encaminarnos a la Gloria, y de los pasos que dio con la pesada Cruz sobre sus delicados ombros, desde la Casa de*

Pilatos, hasta el Monte Caluario, donde fue crucificado y muerto, para darnos vida eterna. Cuyo trecho es el que comienza desde las Casas de los Excelentísimos Señores Duques de Alcalá, hasta la Cruz del Campo desta Ciudad de Sevilla (Seville: Institución Colombina, Biblioteca Capitulare y Colombina, 1653), 57–1–12, ff. 167v–168r.

7. For instance, Augustine's well-known account of his conversion provided an evocative model for tearful lamentation: "Now when deep reflection had drawn up out of the secret depths of my soul all my misery and had heaped it up before the sight of my heart, there arose a mighty storm, accompanied by a mighty rain of tears. That I might give way fully to my tears and lamentations, I stole away from Alypius, for it seemed to me that solitude was more appropriate for the business of weeping. . . . I flung myself down under a fig tree—how I know not—and gave free course to my tears. The streams of my eyes gushed out an acceptable sacrifice to thee"; see Augustine, *Confessions* book VIII, chap. XII, trans. and ed. Albert C. Outler, *Medieval Sourcebook*, <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/aug-conv.html> (accessed August 30, 2010).
8. Christian, "Provoked Religious Weeping." Christian's article focuses on the phenomenon of public, penitential weeping as a circumscribed topic. Sarah McNamer's recent monograph looks at a number of medieval texts—what she calls "scripts for the performance of feeling" (12)—to examine affective meditations on the Passion (McNamer does not include Iberian examples in her study). Sarah McNamer, *Affective Meditation and the Invention of Medieval Compassion* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010). Flynn (1994) draws connections between public displays of affect and confessional manuals.
9. There is extensive literature on private devotion; some of the notable, recent studies that discuss Passion narrative in private devotion practices include Rachel Fulton, *From Judgment to Passion: Devotion to Christ and the Virgin Mary, 800–1200* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002); Caroline Walker Bynum, *Wonderful Blood: Theology and Practice in Late Medieval Northern Germany and Beyond* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007); Jessica Brantley, *Reading in the Wilderness: Private Devotion and Public Performance in Late Medieval England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007); and Jill Stevenson, *Performance, Cognitive Theory, and Devotional Culture: Sensual Piety in Late Medieval York* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).
10. For examples of studies on the social construction of emotions, see R. M. Nesse, "Evolutionary Explanation of Emotions," *Human Nature* 1 (1990): 261–283; John Tooby and Leda Cosmides, "The Past Explains the Present: Emotional Adaptation and the Structure of Ancestral Environments," *Ethology and Sociobiology* 2 (1990): 375–424.
11. "Choosing to express an emotion or cognitively rehearse it may intensify or even create the actual experience of that emotion" (Margaret S. Clark, "Historical Emotionology: Some Comments from a Social Psychologist's Perspective," in *Social History and Issues in Human Consciousness*, ed. Peter N. Stearns and Andrew E. Barnes, 266 [New York: New York University Press, 1989], quoted in Reddy, *Navigating of Feeling*, xii).
12. "The relative significance of intention, and whether the emphasis on intention had truly increased in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is a contentious one. For our purposes, it is sufficient to note that the historiography generally agrees that an anxiety about intention and interior motivations not only existed in the Reformation period but also was on the rise" (Gretchen Starr-Lebeau, "Lay Piety and Community Identity in the Early Modern World," in *A New History of Penance*, ed. Abigail Firey, 399 [Leiden: Brill, 2008]).

13. Alcuin, *De virtutibus et vitiis* (Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Latina), ed. J. P. Migne (Paris: 1844–1891), 101:621, quoted in Abigail Firey, “Blushing before the Judge and Physician: Moral Arbitration in the Carolingian Empire,” in *A New History of Penance*, ed. Abigail Firey, 179 (Leiden: Brill, 2008).
14. “[I]f we assume that the Church had a purpose of ordering penance for all Christians, and therefore an interest in securing their participation, it would have found itself responding to lay acceptance or rejection of the practice; therefore, what laypeople did or did not do, what they felt and how they reacted, would have helped shape—overtly or not, consciously or not—the discipline of penance that emerged during this time” (Karen Wagner, “*Cum aliquis venerit ad sacerdotem*: Penitential Experience in the Central Middle Ages,” in *A New History of Penance*, ed. Abigail Firey, 202 [Leiden: Brill, 2008]).
15. Alonso Sánchez Gordillo, *Religiosas Estaciones que Frecuenta la Religiosidad Sevillana* (1737; repr., Seville: Consejo General de Hermandades y Cofradía de la Ciudad de Sevilla, 1982), 167.
16. St. Thomas of Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, Third Part, trans. Fathers of the English Dominican Province (London: R. & T. Washbourne, Ltd., 1917), 102.
17. Wagner, “*Cum aliquis venerit ad sacerdotem*,” 209.
18. Gregor Richter and Albert Schonfelder, eds., *Sacramentarium Fuldense saeculi X: Cod. Theol. 231 der K. Universitätsbibliothek zu Göttingen* (Fulda, 1912; repr. Farnborough: Saint Michael’s Press, 1977), 43; from Wagner, “*Cum aliquis venerit ad sacerdotem*,” 208.
19. Wagner, “*Cum aliquis venerit ad sacerdotem*,” 212–213.
20. Cyprian, *De Lapsis*, no. 32, in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, ed. Charles George Herbermann et al. (New York: Appleton; London: Caxton, 1908), 4:338.
21. Tertullian, “On Repentance,” trans. Sidney Thelwall, in *Ante-Nicene Fathers: The Writings of the Fathers Down to A.D. 325*, vol. 3., ed. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, 664 (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1887). Dirk Westerkamp points out that Tertullian appears to interpret Aristotle’s concept of catharsis in this passage, since in his approach “the purification of the sins is exercised on a kind of stage in full public. . . . In performing and repenting his *hamartia*, the passions of the sinner are purified. Correlatingly, the spectators among the congregation feel a compassion for the repenter, they pity him (misericordia)”; see Dirk Westerkamp, “Laughter, Catharsis, and the Patristic Conception of Embodied Logos,” in *Embodiment in Cognition and Culture*, ed. John Michael Krois et al., 233 (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Co., 2007).
22. Wagner, “*Cum aliquis venerit ad sacerdotem*,” 218.
23. Henry Ansgar Kelly charts the parsing of penitential rules by theologians in “Penitential Theology and Law at the Turn of the Fifteenth Century,” in *A New History of Penance*, ed. Firey, 240–317.
24. St. Thomas of Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, 103. “The distinction between *contritio* and *attritio* was at first regarded as one not of kind but of degree: it was a question of the depth of the grief felt (the sorrow involved in *contritio* being greater). But when the doctrine of *gratia informans* established itself in the course of the thirteenth century, the criterion became the relation of contrition to justifying grace. For high scholasticism, then (e.g., Thomas Aquinas), *contritio* is the contrition that is given and characterized by grace itself, whereas *attritio* is attrition that is not given by grace” (Michael Schmaus, *Dogma 5: The Church as Sacrament* [Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 1975], 228).
25. Bonaventure, for instance, asserted the power of contrition to remove sin, even without confession. Herbermann et al., *Catholic Encyclopedia*, 1:63.

- Aquinas (and later the Council at Trent) made it clear that with the intercession of a priest, *attritio*—arising from fear of damnation rather than full remorse for one's sins—was affective in progressing the penitent towards a state of grace.
26. Although the final arbiter of forgiveness was God, the priest's ritual participation in confession was crucial for the efficacy of the sacrament, and, in the end, "the priest counted for more than the penitent's interior self"; see Andrew James Johnston, "The Secret of the Sacred: Confession and the Self in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*," in *Performances of the Sacred in Late Medieval and Early Modern England*, ed. Susanne Rupp and Tobias Döring, 57 (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2005).
27. Peter Lombard, *Four Books of Sentences*, 22.2.5, quoted in Elizabeth Frances Rogers, *Peter Lombard and the Sacramental System* (Merrick, NY: Richwood, 1976), 76.
28. Christian, "Provoked Religious Weeping," 98–100, 110.
29. Sánchez Gordillo, *Religiosas Estaciones*, 164–165.
30. Starr-Lebeau, "Lay Piety," 395–399.
31. *Ibid.*, 399–400. In fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Spain, distrust of the outer body to express inner intention and spiritual cleanliness was a template that would be pressed into service in *limpieza de sangre* (cleanliness of blood) statutes, methods for determining genealogical truths and falsehoods of the body.
32. Karen Bassi, *Acting Like Men: Gender, Drama, and Nostalgia in Ancient Greece* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998), 27.
33. Michael Mendelson, "Saint Augustine," in *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (2000). <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/augustine/> (accessed September 29, 2010).
34. Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 302 n. 14.
35. Josiah Blackmore has documented the wide uses of the concept in late medieval Spanish and Portuguese texts, including Alfonso X's *Siete Partidas*, Fernando Rojas's *Calisto y Melibea*, and a number of historical chronicles. Josiah Blackmore, "Afeição and History-Writing: The Prologue of the 'Crónica de D. João I,'" *Luso-Brazilian Review* 34, no. 2 (1997): 15–24.
36. "La afección se dize aquella mudación que acaesce en el corazón o en el cuerpo en algunt tiempo por alguna cabsa, como alegría, cobdiçia, miedo, tristeza, dolencia, flaqueza o otras cosas semejantes." Cicero, *La rethorica de M. Tullio Ciceron*, trans. Alfonso de Cartagena, ed. Rosalba Mascagna (Naples: Liguori, 1969), 69.
37. Ariel Bar-Sela et al., "Moses Maimonides' Two Treatises on the Regimen of Health: Fī Tadbīr al-Sihhah and Maqālāh fī Bayān Ba'd al-A'rād wa-al-Jawāb 'anhā," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 54, no. 4 (1964): 25.
38. D. José Bermejo y Carballo, *Glorias Religiosas de Sevilla, ó Noticia Histórico-Descriptiva de todas las Cofradías de Penitencia, Sangre y Luz Fundadas en Esta Ciudad* (Seville: Imprenta y Librería del Salvador, 1882), 3–5.
39. Huizinga, *Waning of the Middle Ages*, 1–3; A. G. Ferrers Howell, *S. Bernardino of Siena* (London: Methuen, 1913), 301–302. See also Christian, "Provoked Religious Weeping," 98–106.
40. Verdi Webster, *Art and Ritual*, 22–23.
41. "[St. Francis] never ceased to clarify his soul in the rain of tears, aspiring after the purity of supernatural light and counting as little the loss of his bodily eyes." Bonaventure, *Legenda (maior) S. Francisci*, ed. a PP. Collegii S. Bonaventurae, Ad Claras Aquas, 1898. Chapter 1, number 6 (from Hilarin

- Felder, *The Ideals of St. Francis of Assisi* [New York: Benzinger Brothers, 1925], 230).
42. Henri Ghéon, *St. Vincent Ferrer* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1954), 77–80.
 43. “Las calamidades que abrumaron Europa, no sólo la Gran Peste, durante el siglo XIV hicieron aparecer las nutridas tropas de flagelantes, grupos de hombres y mujeres que recorrían en cortejo campos y ciudades ofreciendo el espectáculo de sus maceraciones y el conceirto de sus lúgubres cantos”; see José Sánchez Herrero, “Las Cofradías Sevillanas. Los Comienzos,” *Las Cofradías de Sevilla: Historia, Antropología, Arte* (Seville: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Sevilla, 1985), 31; see also pages 9–11, 18–19.
 44. José Sánchez Herrero, *La Cofradía de la Preciosa Sangre de Cristo de Sevilla. La importancia de la devoción a la Preciosa Sangre de Cristo en la desarrollo de la devoción y la imagería de la Semana Santa* (Zaragoza: Universidad de Zaragoza, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Departamento de Historia Medieval, 1999), 1430.
 45. Bermejo y Carballo, *Glorias Religiosas*, 349.
 46. William A. Christian, *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1981), 184–186.
 47. Verdi Webster, *Art and Ritual*, 144.
 48. *Ibid.*, 157–158. Maureen Flynn, *Sacred Charity: Confraternities and Social Welfare in Spain, 1400–1700* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1989), 133.
 49. Pierre Nora, “Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire,” *Representations* 26 (1989): 8.
 50. Antonin Artaud, *The Theatre and Its Double*, trans. Mary Caroline Richards (New York: Grove Press, 1958), 10, 13.
 51. Carolyne Larrington, “The Psychology of Emotion and Study of the Medieval Period,” *Early Medieval Europe* 10, no. 2 (2001): 252–253.
 52. Ludolphus, IV: Ch. 59, 65v, quoted in Christian, “Provoked Religious Weeping,” 107.
 53. Fame also brought unwanted attention. In 1534, Ávila was brought before the Seville inquisition and charged with exaggerating the harms of wealth, but the *converso* priest was quickly acquitted. Herbermann et al., *Catholic Encyclopedia*, 8:469.
 54. “La sangre de Cristo échala y métela en tu alma; que yo sé cierto que pasará tu alma, y de indevota la hará devota, y de tibia la hará ardiente en el amor de Dios, y de dura la hará blanda y amorosa. Échala en tu alma; que no hay bálsamo que tanto pase. Si no, dime: cuando te paras a pensar en la pasión de Cristo, ¿no sientes que te pega nuevo amor y nueva devoción? ¿No se te ablanda el ánima? ¿No recibes fuerza? ¿No pides perdón de tus pecados? ¿No derramas lágrimas? Oh lágrimas sabrosas las que se derraman por la pasión de Cristo, que hacen derretir en amor suyo!” (Juan de Ávila, *Obras completas del B. Mtro. Juan de Ávila: Edición Crítica*, ed. Luis Sala Balust [Madrid: La Editorial Católica, 1953], 711).
 55. “si con vuestro pensar sosegado, el Señor os da lágrimas, compasion y otros sentimientos devotos, debéislos tomar, con condicion que no sea tanto el exceso con que se enseñoreen de vos, que os dañen á la salud con daño notable, ó que quedeis tan flaca en los resistir, que os hagan con gritos, y con otras exteriores señales, dar muestra de lo que sentís; porque si á esto os acostumbrais, vendreis á hacer entre gente, y con grande nota, lo mismo que en vuestra celda, sin lo poder resistir; de lo qual es razon que huyais: y por esto habeis de tomar estos sentimientos, ó lágrimas; de tal arte, que no os váyais mucho tras ellas, porque no perdais, por seguiras, aquel pensamiento

ó afeccion espiritual que las causó. Mas tened mucha cuenta con que aquello dure; y de estotro exterior y sensual sea lo que fuere. . . . no hace el de parte sensitiva ó corporal, ni aún dexa durar al espiritual, sino lo tiene, para que no se vaya tras el” (Juan de Ávila, *Obras: Audi Filia et Vide* [Madrid: n.p., 1792], 2:10–11).

56. “Y cuando quieren sacar una imagen, para hacer llorar, vístenla de luto y pónenle todo lo que incita a tristeza” (Juan de Ávila, *Aviso y reglas cristianas sobre aquel verso de David: Audi, Filia* (Barcelona: Flors, 1963), 2642. The *Llibre Vermell de Montserrat*, a fourteenth-century songbook for the devotion of the Virgin Mary, contains a miniature showing a procession of partially nude penitents with sorrowful expressions. Illuminations in this manuscript may have been used by pilgrims to the Monastery of Montserrat in performative reading or as visual stimuli for acts of penance, confession, and praise. These, and additional examples, can be found in Gabriel Llompart, “Penitencias y penitentes.”
57. Susan Verdi Webster’s scholarship on this subject is exemplary. Sánchez Gordillo also documented a number of instances of “trompetas dolorosas” and “los cantos . . . tristes y devotas” sung during penitential rites in Seville, music that would have further augmented sensory engagement with lachrymose feelings; Sánchez Gordillo, *Religiosas Estaciones*, 45, 158, 172.
58. Sarah Beckwith, *Christ’s Body: Identity, Culture and Society in Late Medieval Writings* (London: Routledge, 1993), 53. “Franciscanism described the gestural techniques of affectus in its development of imitative and meditational schema for the production of contrition. Like Bernardine piety, Franciscanism was a decisive reorientation of the relations between sacred and profane” (ibid., 59).
59. Silvan S. Tomkins, *Affect Imagery Consciousness: The Negative Affects* (New York: Springer Publishing Co., 1963), 3–7. “It should be noted that with distress-anguish, as with every other affect, there are radical differences in the total phenomenological experience of distress when the feedback of the distress cry enters into different central assemblies of components of the nervous system. As an extreme instance, the cry of pain when I step on a tack with bare feet may be the same cry of distress I emit upon hearing of the loss of a love object, yet the total experience of distress is quite different in these two cases. This is not because the affect is different but because the total central assemblies and, consequently the total information being transmuted in the two cases, differ so much that the feeling of distress-anguish in each case is experienced differently” (ibid., 5).
60. E. Virginia Demos, “An Affect Revolution: Silvan Tomkins’ Affect Theory,” in *Exploring Affect: The Selected Writings of Silvan S. Tomkins*, ed. E. Virginia Demos, 17–26 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).
61. Jonathan Gratch and Stacy Marsella, “Tears and Fears: Modeling Emotions and Emotional Behaviors in Synthetic Agents,” in *International Conference on Autonomous Agents, Proceedings of the Fifth International Conference on Autonomous Agents, Montreal, Quebec, Canada* (New York: ACM Press, 2001), 278–279.
62. Théophile Gautier, quoted in Felicia Hardison Londré, *The History of World Theater: From the English Restoration to the Present* (New York: Continuum Publishing Co., 1999), 239.
63. Anatoly Altschuller, “Actors and Acting: 1820–1850,” in *The History of Russian Theatre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 108.
64. Peter Marks, “Urinating on the Homework but Still Seeking the Audience’s Affection,” *New York Times*, May 6, 1997. <http://theater.nytimes.com/mem/theater/treview.html?res=9b01e5db1030f935a35756c0a961958260> (accessed

October 26, 2010). Annie Sprinkle incorporates acts of urination in her “post-porn” performance art. *Annie Sprinkle: Post-Porn Modernist: My 25 Years as a Multi-Media Whore* (San Francisco: Cleis Press, 1998).

65. Helen Spackman, “Minding the Matter of Representation: Staging the Body (Politic),” *Contemporary Theatre Review* 10, no. 3 (2000): 15.
66. Claire Sponsler, *Drama and Resistance: Bodies, Goods, and Theatricality in Late Medieval England* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 148. Jody Enders examines the performativity of real violence, bloodshed, and cries of anguish (accidental or otherwise) on medieval stages in *The Medieval Theater of Cruelty: Rhetoric, Memory, Violence* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999).
67. Some modern audiences, critics, and government officials, of course, respond to acts in this category with revulsion. The denial of federal funding by the National Endowment of the Humanities to a number of US experimental performance artists in the 1980s (including Ron Athey and Karen Finley) is an example of a negative reaction to performances involving bodily functions and fluids.
68. David Saltz, “Infiction and Outfiction: The Role of Fiction in Theatrical Performance,” in *Staging Philosophy: Intersections of Theatre, Performance, and Philosophy* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006), 203.
69. Marvin Carlson, “The Eternal Instant: Some Thoughts on Theatre and Religion,” *Assaph: Studies in the Theatre* 12 (1996): 40.
70. Joseph Roach details a number of theories and methods from Western theatrical traditions (from Quintilian and Noverre to Diderot and Stanislavsky) for linking inner feelings with taxonomic and gestural grammars in *The Player’s Passion: Studies in the Science of Acting* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993).
71. Constantin Stanislavsky, *An Actor Prepares*, trans. E. R. Hapgood (New York: Theatre Arts Books, 1961).
72. In fact, throughout his career Stanislavsky constantly refined and changed his techniques, even renouncing his commitment to representational theater later in his life. Edward Braun, *Meyerhold on Theatre* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1969), 19.
73. Evidence that Stanislavsky explicitly distanced his own work from melodrama exists in a number of places. In his production notes for *The Seagull*, Stanislavsky wrote that in a scene of playacting with Trigorin, the character of Arkadina (a professional actress of the contemporary stage) should speak “in the tone and with the sort of pathos usually employed in melodrama.” S. D. Balukhaty, ed. *The Seagull Produced by Stanislavsky*, trans. David Magarshack (New York: Theatre Arts, 1952), 235. In *An Actor Prepares*, he wrote that an exercise where the actors played an overwrought, tragic scene “stirred us with its melodrama and unexpectedness, and yet we accomplished nothing” (69).
74. Vasily Osipovich Toporkov, writing about his experiences in rehearsal with Stanislavsky in the later years of the director’s life, states, “Nothing so clearly, so convincingly transmits the spiritual condition of a person as his physical behavior; that is, as his sequence of physical actions”; see *Stanislavsky in Rehearsal: The Final Years* (New York: Theatre Arts Books, 1979), 162. See also Sharon Marie Carnicke, “The Life of the Human Spirit: Stanislavsky’s Eastern Self,” *Teatr: Russian Theatre Past and Present* 1 (2000): 3–14; R. Andrew White, “Stanislavsky and Ramacharaka: The Influence of Yoga and Turn-of-the-Century Occultism on the System,” *Theatre Survey* 47, no. 1 (2006): 73–92.

75. Constantin Stanislavsky, *Creating a Role*, trans. E. R. Hapgood (New York: Taylor and Francis, 1989), 27.
76. Sharon Marie Carnicke, *Stanislavsky in Focus* (London: Overseas Publishers Association, 1998), 170–171.
77. St. Thomas of Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, 132.
78. Stanislavsky, *An Actor Prepares*, 23.
79. *Ibid.*, 60.
80. Francisco de Osuna, *Tercer abecedario espiritual* (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1972), 342. For a detailed description of *recogimiento*, see Moshe Sluhovsky, *Believe Not Every Spirit: Possession, Mysticism, & Discernment in Early Modern Catholicism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 102–110.
81. The thirteenth-century confessional guide *Ancrene Wisse* instructs anchoresses to employ words that are “ischawet efter þe werkes” (suited to the actions). *Anchoritic Spirituality: Ancrene Wisse and Associated Works*, trans. N. Watson and A. Savage (New York: Paulist Press, 1991), 164.
82. William Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, ed. Susanne L. Wofford (Boston: Bedford Books, 1994), 86. Significantly, throughout the play Hamlet pursues the objective of uncovering the truths hidden behind the visages of those who would betray him. In particular, Hamlet comments on the discontinuity between the display of tears and the inner conscience. After hearing the First Player perform Æneas’s speech to Dido, Hamlet soliloquizes on the Player’s ability to produce tears without motive: “this player here / But in a fiction, in a dream of passion, / could force his soul so to his own conceit, / that from her working all his visage wann’d, / tears in his eyes, distraction in’s aspect, / a broken voice, and his whole function suiting / with forms to his conceit? And all for nothing! / For Hecuba!” (II, ii). Hamlet also remarks on the “unrighteousness” of Gertrude’s abbreviated period of mourning of her first husband (“Like Niobe, all tears”), suggesting to him corruption and “frailty” (I, ii).
83. Stanislavsky, *An Actor Prepares*, 43.
84. *Ibid.*, 101.
85. “[G]uardaos mucho de afligir vuestro corazon con tristezas forzadas, que suelen hacer echar alguna lágrimilla forzada” (Juan de Ávila, *Obras*, 10).
86. “no habeis de ir con el pensamiento á contemplar al Señor á Jerusalem, donde esto acaeció; porque esto daña mucho á la cabeza y seca la devocion; mas haced cuenta que lo teneis allí presente; y poned los ojos de vuestra ánima en los pies de él, ó en el suedo cercano á él; y con toda reverencia mirad lo que entonces pasaba, como si á ello presente estuvierades; y escuchad lo que el Señor habla, con toda atencion” (Juan de Ávila, *Obras*, 9–10; emphasis mine).
87. Stanislavsky, *An Actor Prepares*, 56–57.
88. *Ibid.*, 294.
89. For Durkheim, the *sui generis* properties of a social system (social facts and collective representations) emerge from the association of individuals. Robert Keith Sawyer, *Social Emergence: Societies as Complex Systems* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 105.

6 “He Cried and Made Others Cry”

Crying as a Sign of Pietistic Authenticity or Deception in Medieval Islamic Preaching*

Linda G. Jones

The Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, passed by a Jewish woman whose relatives were crying over her and he said, “You are crying over her, and she is being tormented in her grave.”¹

The sun and the moon are two signs against the signs of Allah; they do not eclipse on the death or life of anyone. So when you see the eclipse, remember Allah and say, “God is great,” pray and give alms. O followers of Muhammad! By Allah! There is none who has more *ghayra* (self-respect) than Allah as He has forbidden that His servants, male or female, commit adultery. O followers of Muhammad! By Allah! If you knew that which I know you would laugh little and weep much.²

The *hadiths* (sayings) of the Prophet Muhammad cited here show the Prophet expressing contrasting attitudes toward the shedding of tears. The first saying is preserved in the chapter on burials in the *Kitab al-Muwatta’a* (“The book of the smoothed path”), a compendium of hadith compiled by Malik ibn Anas (d. 180 AH/796 CE). The episode took place in the context of the burial of a Jewish woman, and Muhammad’s comment to the deceased’s family, “You are crying over her, and she is being tormented in her grave,” was an admonishment that, rather than serving to intercede on her behalf for God’s mercy and forgiveness, their tears were the source of the woman’s deathly “torment.” The hadith was upheld among many medieval Sunni Muslims as proof that Muhammad had forbidden them to weep over the dead.

In the second hadith, the solar eclipse afforded Muhammad the opportunity to preach against pagan superstition, hence his exhortation to “remember Allah” and pray when such phenomena occurred, instead of interpreting them as portents of some inauspicious event. While the subsequent prohibition against committing adultery might seem out of place, it was nevertheless relevant to the real aim of the sermon, which was to remind and instill fear in his followers about the Last Judgment and the terrifying punishments to be faced by those who err in their beliefs and in their conduct. Hence the allusion to “weeping much” should not be understood here simply as a manifestation of Muhammad’s gnosis and superior insight as a prophet privy to divine revelations that his followers did not have.

Given that he was delivering a sermon, his words had a hortatory purpose and sought to induce his followers to emulate him and "weep much" out of the fear of God and His punishments.

Whereas in the first hadith we encounter a proscription against crying in a specific circumstance (a burial), in the second we have an enjoinder to "weep much," such that tearfulness becomes a permanent state and condition of "God-fearingness." The concept of "the fear of God" is central to the Qur'anically defined vision of the proper relationship between humans and the divine as one based on awe, veneration, and respect. Several terms appear in the Qur'an to express the sentiment of fear, among them: *khashya*, *taqwa*, *khawf*, and *rahba*. When used in conjunction with the object, God, e.g., *taqwa Allah*, they are closely associated or even homologized with the virtue of faith or belief in God.³ Yet the term *khashya*, which combines the notions of fear and reverence, enjoys a privileged place in Sufi mystical thought where it manifests the ideal of *ikhlās* (sincerity), a "purely disinterested belief in God alone."⁴ Sufi mystics such as Abu l-Nasr al-Sarraj al-Tusi (d. 378/988) considered this ideal of a pure, disinterested fear, reverence, and belief in God for His own sake to be a higher spiritual condition than the fear induced by a desire for heavenly reward or the terror inspired by contemplating the Last Judgment.⁵ Accordingly, many ascetics and mystics lauded the virtue of tears stemming from the spiritual state of *khashya*.⁶ If God-fearingness epitomizes the ideal human response or attitude toward God, tears were—at least for some mystics and ascetics—its maximum somatic manifestation.⁷

The contrasting attitudes toward crying seen in the aforementioned hadiths lead to several observations that I wish to develop in this chapter. First of all, in both cases tears *signify*; they are an exterior sign of some interior sentiment or affective state. The obvious question to be addressed is *what do tears signify* in medieval Islamic cultures? Secondly, tears divulge the existence of religiously defined cultural norms, which ascribe meaning to tears and determine when it is and when it is not appropriate to cry. Our tasks, then, will be to explain the Muslim "feeling rules" about crying and how they are defined, and analyze the circumstances and occasions in which tears are culturally valued as positive or negative.⁸ In line with the contrasting attitudes of Muhammad toward crying in the two hadiths cited earlier, we shall see that medieval Sunni Muslim preachers privileged crying inspired by a reverential fear of God and the Last Things, over weeping for other motives. For instance, while they warned against shedding tears over the death of someone as a sign of ingratitude or rebellion against God's will, they encouraged crying in response to "the remembrance of death" and its "torments." Preachers could also deliberately provoke weeping in order to humble individuals or even entire congregations, as in the collective ritualized weeping typical of rogation ceremonies in times of drought (*salat al-istisqa'*) or in the rites of Sufi mystic assemblies. These rituals demonstrate the performative nature of crying and the social function of the public display of tears.⁹

Yet alongside Islamic cultural discourses that demarcated the “right” and the “wrong” reasons for shedding tears and that ranked the motivations for crying in a kind of spiritual hierarchy, there was also a parallel discourse of the distrust of tears. For while it is true that weeping could be regarded as the visible somatization of genuine, heartfelt feelings of the fear of God and the Last Judgment, contrition for sins, or grief, there was an awareness that tears could also be faked in order to mask one’s true inner feelings of malice, hatred, envy, or other base sentiments. The qur’anic story of Joseph (Q12) provides a paradigm of feigned weeping. Although the text follows the biblical narrative of the brothers’ ruse to fake Joseph’s death, the Qur’an adds the dramatic detail that the brothers “came to their father at nightfall, weeping” as they spun the story that he had been devoured by a wolf (Q12.16). Public weeping could also be interpreted as a sign of *jahr*, or “making a show” of one’s piety. The Qur’an encourages individual prayer “in secret,” (e.g., Q 7.55), while Muhammad reportedly said, “The believer weeps in his heart, the hypocrite in his skull.”¹⁰ Accordingly, jurists and even some preachers criticized public weeping as an unseemly spectacle manifesting the ostentatious and hypocritical piety of the preacher and the audience.

Popular literature satirized such preachers for feigning their own tears or provoking weeping in others as a ploy to fool an unsuspecting audience into donating money or gifts. For instance, Abu Zayd, the protagonist of the *Maqamat al-Hariri* (*Assemblies of al-Hariri*), written circa AH 493/1100 CE, epitomizes the stock image of the wily eloquent rogue.¹¹ Time and again he is seen in the episodes of these picaresque tales appearing in disguise before a group of people exhorting them to be moved to tears, for example, as they ponder the inevitability of death. Invariably, the narrator, impressed by the words of the mysterious orator, later discovers Abu Zayd’s “deceit” and “guile”¹² as he gleefully counts the gains from his adventures.

While the parodies of charlatan preachers were intended to arouse laughter in their readers, the underlying message of the eschatological torments for hypocrisy in one’s beliefs or insincerity in the intentions underlying one’s deeds was no laughing matter. Drawing upon homiletic literature, biographical dictionaries, hagiographies, and juridical sources from tenth- to fourteenth-century Muslim Iberia, the Maghreb, and the Mashreq, I will explore the various meanings ascribed to tears, the role of weeping in defining Islamic spirituality, and the use of tears as a kind of “litmus test” of true versus feigned piety. In so doing, the current research departs from the prevailing scholarship on weeping in Islam which has focused on individual grief, gendered grief, and Shi’i collective mourning rituals.¹³

THE LIMITATIONS OF THE SOURCES

Prior to the analysis of the homiletic literature, a word is in order about the sources used for this study. The broad historical and geographical range

of the texts to be analyzed reflects, on the one hand, the problem of the sources themselves, but on the other, an undeniable continuity and interconnectedness of the cultures that made up the medieval Arabic-speaking world of Sunni Islam. Given the theme of this volume, I have not considered the earliest specimens of Islamic oratory (*khataba*) preserved in belletrist anthologies compiled in the ninth and tenth centuries¹⁴ as these orations mostly treat political and theological issues.

The lack of comparable anthologies of Arabic oratory and homiletics from the postclassical period (eleventh to fifteenth centuries) and the fact that most sermonaries of individual preachers have either not survived or remain unedited further impede a study focused upon a single historical period or geographical location. Altogether the homiletic evidence is scarce and scattered. While some sermon manuscripts are preserved intact, others are only partially recorded or paraphrased in later literary sources. Rarely do the descriptions of a preaching event preserved in chronicles or other literary works provide more than a general summary of what was actually said.

Yet despite the problems with the primary sources, there are sufficiently compelling reasons to justify the consideration of such a broad range of material. In the first place, medieval Sunni Islamic preachers drew upon a shared corpus of foundational texts in the composition of their sermons. Apart from the Qur'an and the canonical Hadith collections, the latter of which were compiled in the eighth and ninth centuries, these and subsequent centuries saw the emergence of other materials that we know were used as preaching aids either because the preachers themselves cited them as authorities in their sermons, or because the biographers or jurists who described preaching ceremonies mentioned the recourse to such literature.

The principal genres that served as preaching aids were paraenetica, especially the *Life of Muhammad*,¹⁵ collections of "stories of the pre-Islamic prophets (*qisas al-anbiya'*),"¹⁶ spiritual biographies of the pious,¹⁷ and a vast corpus of ascetic literature on themes such as the contempt of the world, the remembrance of death, the punishments of hell, and the rewards of paradise.¹⁸ Of special relevance is a particular class of ascetics known as "the weepers (*al-bakka'un*)," due to their characteristic shedding of copious tears during their ritual practices. Their homilies commended the practice of devotional weeping and classified the various reasons for crying.¹⁹ The sayings attributed to "weepers" such as Abu l-Darda' (d. 32/652), one of the younger Companions of the Prophet who wrote a treatise on spiritually motivated crying,²⁰ and to al-Hasan al-Basri (d. 110/728), the most eloquent of the early ascetic preachers,²¹ were frequently cited by preachers who lived centuries later.²² Extensive biobibliographical evidence of scholars who traveled in search of knowledge along the pilgrimage route from their homes in the Maghreb or al-Andalus to Mecca and Medina attests to the diffusion of these works across the western and eastern Islamic world.²³ This religious and ethical literature provided the cultural templates that defined the affective states and emotional responses to life's circumstances

for medieval Muslims. It was from this material that preachers drew to guide their audiences in the legitimate motives for crying and the appropriate manner of shedding tears.

Finally, not only did sermons and related literature contributing to ideas about crying and culturally scripted emotionality circulate; ideas about preaching likewise circulated across time and space in the medieval Sunni Islamic world. The discussion in the final section of this chapter on the debates surrounding the authenticity of provoked weeping is based upon diverse juridical and homiletic texts whose authors engaged with their contemporaries as well as with authors from earlier periods throughout the Sunni Islamic world. The example of Ibn al-Hajj, a fourteenth-century Egyptian Maliki jurist who cited the Andalusí scholar al-Turtushi (d. 520/1126)²⁴ to justify his hostility toward hortatory preachers is by no means unusual. We shall see that the debates over private versus public crying and faked versus authentic tears are inseparable from these larger questions regarding the nature and sources of legitimate religious authority in medieval Islam.

ASCETIC TEARS: A SERMON ON CRYING FOR THE FEAR OF GOD

In the tenth homily in the cycle of sermons attributed to Shaykh ‘Abd Allah Shu‘ayb al-Hurayfish (d. 801/1398), the shaykh spoke on “what is to come from weeping and to those given to weeping out of the fear of God (*ma ja’a fi l-baka’ wa-l-bakka’in min khashyat Allah*).”²⁵ The very title of the sermon hints at the preacher’s expectations that a certain kind of weeping *does* something—that it produces some desired effect that crying for other motives does not. Equally, those given to “weeping much (*al-bakka’un*)” out of the fear of God have something to be gained that sets them apart from those not endowed with this charismatic gift. The gift of tears, long attested as a special virtue (*fadl*) of a select group of those favored by God in the hagiographic literature,²⁶ is upheld in this sermon as a practice to be cultivated by a presumably general audience of Muslims as opposed to an elite circle of mystics or ascetics. It should be noted that Shu‘ayb al-Hurayfish was an Egyptian Sufi preacher who—despite his connections with the notorious *Harafish* or professional beggars and street entertainers who organized themselves into guildlike structures and operated in the streets of Mamluk Cairo, Damascus, and Aleppo—seems to have gained renown and popularity from his years spent in Mecca preaching on ascetic and Sufi themes.²⁷

His sermons were collected into an anthology titled, *al-Rawd al-fa’iq fi l-mawa’iz wa-l-raqa’iq* (“The splendid garden of hortatory sermons and edifying tales”). Out of the fifty-six sermons constituting the anthology, the tenth homily is the only one that deals with weeping. The majority of the sermons treat the “traits of the pious men (*manaqib al-salihin*)” or

individuals and the qualities or miracles of the saints (*karamat al-awliya'*).²⁷ Another prominent theme is the "virtue (*fadl*)" of performing certain devotions, such as uttering the liturgical blessing on the Prophet or the confession of faith in the oneness of God, as well as the virtues of specific sacred times, such as Ramadan or the Prophet's birthday, and of certain holy places, e.g., the Ka'ba. Shaykh al-Hurayfish also devoted sermons to the remembrance and the "agonies" of death and the Last Things.

As far as the genre is concerned, these sermons are not the liturgical sermons (*khutab shar'iyya* or *minbariyya*), which would be the equivalent of the medieval Christian festival sermons delivered according to the liturgical calendar. Rather, they belong to the genre of pious exhortation (*wa'z*).²⁸ Whereas the performance of the liturgical *khutba* was prescribed by Islamic law and its attendance was a devotional obligation imposed upon the community (*fard kifaya*), the performance and attendance the hortatory sermon session (*majlis al-wa'z*) was a voluntary act. This supererogatory character informs the content of the sermons: apart from the homily extolling the obligatory fast of Ramadan,²⁹ the others either exhort the observation of para-liturgical festivals, the performance of voluntary acts of devotion, or praise those persons or collectives—"the pious (*al-salihun*)," "the saints (*al-awliya'*)," or "the ascetic poor (*al-fuqqara'*)"—whose sanctity derived from having performed such deeds. It is within this context that we must situate the sermon praising the act of crying out of the fear of God and extolling those given to abundant tears. Al-Hurayfish aimed to foment among the general public a type of affective ascetic religiosity that, though widely practiced across the medieval Islamic world, nevertheless had its detractors among religious elites who disapproved of practices, including hortatory preaching and storytelling, which supposedly had no direct precedent in the worship of Muhammad and the first Muslim community in Medina.³⁰ It must not be assumed, however, that the prescriptive status of the liturgical *khutba* rendered it devoid of emotional appeal, for there is evidence that Muslims could also be moved to tears by listening to these sermons³¹; I merely wish to point out that the choice of a homiletic theme such as the spiritual rewards of pious weeping is more characteristic of ascetic nonliturgical preaching.

Space does not allow for an analysis of the sermon in its entirety. I shall only comment upon a few passages to illustrate the range of meanings and functions that al-Hurayfish ascribed to tears and to indicate how he developed these themes. The sermon begins, as all sermons do, whether liturgical or nonliturgical, with the obligatory pronouncement of the words, "Praise be to God (*al-hamdu li-Llah*).³²" The preacher customarily follows this formula, known as the *tahmid*, with attributives expounding the reasons and motives for His praise, which also serve the rhetorical purpose of alerting the audience to the principal theme to be developed, as we see in the opening paragraph:

Praise be to God, who makes the eyes of those who fear cry (*abka 'uyun al-kha'ifin*) out of fear of the threat of the punishment (*khawf al-wa'id*),

and their eyes (*'uyunuhum*) shall flow like springs (*jarat ka-l-'uyun*). He shall cause the drawing out of the **tear ducts** (*al-madami'*) of the eyes of people whose armies withdrew from the depravation of sleep, so afraid were they of the severing [from God] that **they cried** (*yabkuna*) and began to wail for **fear of the threat** of the **punishment** (*khawf al-wa'id*) [. . .] and the **fear drove their sleep** and their **slumber** away (*fa-atara al-khawf nawmahum*). When the people would rejoice, they would be **sad** (*yahzuna*), their tears having **prevented their sleep** and their **slumber** (*qad mana'a al-dam' nawmahum wa-l-huju'*). And **they would cry**, their hearts aching, their hearts **saddened** (*fa-yabkuna bi-fu'ad mawju' wa-qulub mahzun*), for they made **crying** their labor and **tears** their drink (*qad ja'alu al-bakka' daban wa-l-dam' sharaban*), for they spent their days in sadness and their nights in lamentation.³²

As will be appreciated from the texts highlighted in bold, the central themes of al-Hurayfish's sermon feature two apparently distinct motivations for weeping, namely crying out of the fear of God and especially the fear of the threat of His punishments (*khawf al-wa'id*), and crying out of sorrow. Although he also vividly describes the tears of "saddened" and "aching hearts," I believe that this sorrow is provoked by and thus subordinate to the primary sentiment of fear of the eschatological torments of the Last Judgment and the punishments of the Fire. The term, *al-wa'id*, occurs in the Qur'an (Q 50:20) in the phrase *yawm al-wa'id*, whose literal meaning, "the day whereof the threat has been given," is one of the many euphemisms for the Last Day. This qur'anic verse and that which follows it depict the terrors of the final judgment: it is the day on which "the trumpet will blast" and "every soul shall come forth with an angel to drive it" inexorably toward God for judgment "and an angel to bear witness" against it for all its earthly deeds. Elsewhere in the Qur'an one finds references to the *wa'id* as God's promise of the Fire for the infidels (Q 9:68) and of eternal damnation for those guilty of grave sins (Q 4:10, 30).³³ Thus the very mention of the term, *khawf al-wa'id*, would have evoked these images in the minds of the listeners.

At the same time, the preacher's association of tears with the terrifying threats of God's punishments and being "severed" from God points to a hierarchy that situates this as one of the spiritually highest or noblest motives for weeping. It is also consistent with the theological view that the threat of God's punishments is the most effective incentive for humans to obey His commandments.³⁴ Thus from a theological as well as a rhetorical point of view, al-Hurayfish's initial "strong-arm tactic" of evoking the threat of divine castigation was an effective way of gaining the audience's attention.

Toward this end al-Hurayfish used a number of identifiable rhetorical techniques to conjure up vivid images aimed to instill the fear of God's punishment in his audience. These techniques include repetition (*takrar*) of

the same terms, verbs, or concepts, e.g., "fear of the threat of punishment (*khawf al-wa'id*)," "eyes (*uyun*)," "their eyes (*uyunuhum*)," "they would cry (*yabkuna*)," "tears (*dam'*)," "sadness" as in, "they would be sad (*yah-zuna*)" and "hearts saddened (*qulub mahzun*)"; phrasal parallelisms, e.g., "tears having prevented their sleep and their slumber (*qad mana'a al-dam' nawmahum wa-l-huju'*)" and "fear drove their sleep and their slumber away (*fa-atara al-khawf nawmahum wa-l-na'as*)"; semantic parallelisms: "their hearts aching, their hearts saddened (*fa-yabkuna bi-fuwa'id mawju' wa-qulub mahzun*)"; and rhymed prose: "for they made crying their labor and tears their drink (*qad ja'alu al-bakka' daban wa-l-dam' sharaban.*" It could be argued that the mental images articulated here and elsewhere in the sermon fulfill the same purpose and produce effects comparable to those of medieval Christian painted or sculpted images of a suffering Christ, a dolorous Virgin Mary, or a tearful Mary Magdalene. In a similar way that Christian preachers invited their audiences to emulate the pathos depicted in the visual representations of Christ and the saints,³⁵ the hortatory preacher al-Hurayfish marshaled his rhetorical skills to evoke realistic mental images of the fear of the threat and its consequences, in the expectation that the audience would respond in kind, bursting into tears from the fear he inspired in them.

Yet these scare tactics quickly give way to an abundance of edifying narratives that extol the virtues and rewards of fear-inspired crying. After all, al-Hurayfish introduced the theme of crying out of the fear of the threat of God's punishments as a gloss explaining one of the motives for which the Muslim should "praise God." Seen in this way, such tears become a divine gift identifying those who weep much with those who truly praise God and distinguishing them from "the people who rejoice."

This is just one of the homiletic strategies al-Hurayfish employed to privilege the association of crying with the fear of God. Far more plentiful are the recourses to scriptural authority in reciting select verses from the Qur'an, the invocation of the authority of Muhammad and of other renowned pious men via the citation of their hadiths and dicta, and the narration of exemplary and edifying stories of the prophets. These narratives strike a different tone, eschewing the rhetoric of threats (*al-mawa'iz*) consistent with speaking about the "threat of God's punishments (*al-wa'id*)" in favor of the rhetoric of "gentle heart-melting speech (*al-raqa'iq*)," a style more appropriate for speaking about the "promises of God's rewards (*al-wa'd*)" and more suitable for enticing the audience into compliance with the duty to "fear God."

Typically these qur'anic and Hadith discourses take the form of declarative statements affirming the spiritually exalted nature of fear-induced crying, promises of the eschatological recompense for this act, and attestations of its ritual efficacy. For instance, in a single passage al-Hurayfish quoted an uninterrupted chain of such sayings, among which are found the following three:

The Messenger of God said, “There is nothing more beloved to God Almighty than the two drops (*qatratayn*): a teardrop from the fear of God (*qatrat dam‘ min khashyat Allah*), and a drop of blood shed in the path of God (*qatrat damm tabraqu fi sabil Allah*).”³⁶

Subsequently, he quoted a prayer attributed to Muhammad, “By God! Endow me with two torrentially rain-filled eyes shedding tears out of fear of You (*arziqni ‘aynayn hatalatayn yabkiyani al-dam‘ min khashyat Allah*).”³⁷ Finally, after the citation of this prayer, he recited a verse “from one of God’s Books” in which God reportedly said,

There is no servant of Mine who cries out of fear of Me (*min khashyati*) whose [tears] I did not substitute with (*alla abdaltuhu*) joyful laughter in the light of My sanctity (*dahkan fi nur qudsi*). Say to those who cry out of fear of Me, “Rejoice, for verily you will be among those upon whom descends the Mercy when it descends.”³⁸

The first hadith and the divine saying define a clear role for fear-inspired tears in the Islamic economy of salvation. The prophetic saying holds out the promise of the rewards of divine favor and salvation to be gained from shedding even one tear out of the fear of God. The image of a single teardrop (*qatrat dam‘*) highlights the transformative power and efficacy of fear-induced weeping. Al-Hurayfish’s clever play on words of the single teardrop (*qatrat dam‘*) and the single drop of blood (*qatrat damm*) effectively places the tears shed in the fear of God on the same spiritual level as the shedding of one’s blood for the sake of God. The preacher’s audience would have been well familiar with the traditions and narratives extolling the “virtues of fighting in the path of God (*fadl al-jihad fi sabil Allah*),” which coincide in promising paradise to those who shed blood or die a martyr’s death for God.³⁹ There are of course traditions identifying other kinds of noncombatant martyrs who receive the same heavenly reward as the martyrs of jihad, such as women who die in childbirth or victims of a plague.⁴⁰ Hence al-Hurayfish’s image achieves its power from the originality of his equating something as small as one teardrop shed in the fear of God with these other forms of sacrifice. Furthermore, the single tear departs from a hadith recorded in several collections promising “the peaceful shade of God’s shade” in paradise to those who shed abundant tears on earth: “the man who remembers Allah when he is alone and his eyes *overflow* with tears.”⁴¹

The divine promise to substitute tears shed out of the fear of God with joyful laughter introduces the important concept of substitution (*badal*). Although this divine saying is not qur’anic, the notion that the sufferings experienced and the sacrifices made in this world will be not merely rewarded but also substituted with that which one denied oneself on this earth is consistent with qur’anic eschatological discourse. The most obvious example is that of the treatment of the consumption of wine, a substance forbidden

to Muslims on earth, but one they will enjoy in abundance in paradise (cf. Q 47:15; 76:17). The promise that al-Hurayfish quotes also echoes in an inverted way that found in Q 9:82, "Let them laugh a little: much will they weep: a recompense for the (evil) that they do," which warns that those who laughed about their sins in this world will shed many tears in the afterlife.

In the second prophetic hadith, the verb that Muhammad used in his supplication, "Endow me with (*arziq-ni*)," establishes that crying out of the fear of God is a charismatic gift. The verb, *razaqa*, from which the imperative, *arziq-ni*, derives, means "to bestow," "to bless," "to endow," or "to provide with material or spiritual possessions," and is used in reference to God, one of whose ninety names is "al-Razzaq ("The Provider)." As Muhammad's life and deeds provide models for all Muslims to emulate, the audience would have understood that they should imitate him in praying for the gift of crying out of fear of God.

It must be underscored that all three of the preceding sayings not only specify that the crying must be done out of "the fear of God," but also express this concept identically with the phrase *min khashyat Allah*. As noted, *khashya* ("reverential fear") is one of several qur'anic terms used to articulate the ideal attitude humans should have toward God. We have also seen that some Sufis extolled *khashya* as the epitome of a truly pure and disinterested state of belief in and reverence for the deity. Hence al-Hurayfish consciously chose to privilege the concept of *khashya*, which appears not only in the title of the homily, but also repeatedly throughout the sermon, over other possible terms. For instance, he mentioned *taqwa* only once at the beginning of a series of brief exemplary vignettes of persons whose fear of God led them to shed tears: "Abu Bakr al-Kinani said, [. . .] I saw in a dream a youth the likes of whose beauty I had never seen before. I said to him, 'Who are you?' and he said, 'I am *al-taqwa*,' So I asked him, where do you live?' And he answered, 'In a sad, tearful heart (*fi qalb hazin bakka*).'"⁴²

Of the other synonyms, al-Hurayfish most often employs the term *khawf*, usually in conjunction with *khashya*, to connote the added idea of dread, which hearkens back to the theme of God's punishments. Al-Hurayfish thus manifests his adherence to this Sufi theological vision by placing crying due to the fear of God (*min khashyat Allah*) and of His threats of punishment (*khawf al-wa'id*) ahead of other spiritually meritorious reasons for shedding tears, which he goes on to illustrate in his exempla of the tears of other scriptural prophets.

For instance, he mentioned Adam, "who cried for forty years when he was expelled from paradise"; Jacob, "who cried over [the loss of] Joseph until his eyes turned white from sadness"; and David, "who cried forty days for his sin and did not raise his head toward the heavens out of shame until it was said to him [by God], 'O David, as for your sin, We have forgiven it.'"⁴³ It is obvious that al-Hurayfish considered the stories of Adam and David to be especially edifying because he repeated them various times adding more heart-wrenching details illustrating that the shedding of abundant tears out

of sadness and contrition for one's sins is an effective form of expiation; it moves God to show mercy and forgiveness.⁴⁴

Finally, al-Hurayfish quoted sayings attributed to other prophets, pious men, or saints who offer alternative reasons for their spiritually motivated weeping. For instance, the ascetic sage, Fath al-Mawsili, was said to have cried so much that "his tears turned to blood (*baka l-dumu' thumma baka l-damm*)," When God asked him why he was crying, he responded that it was due to his "negligence in the duties owed to You (*takhallufi 'an wajib haqqika*)."⁴⁵ When the ascetic 'Ata' al-Muslama was asked the reason for his "abundance of tears (*kathir al-baka'*)," he responded with a graphic image of the remembrance of death, "I am crying and the fetters of death are around my neck, the grave is my home, and the resurrection is my permanent place."⁴⁶ Another unnamed devout man who was nearing death was weeping, and when he was asked why, he answered that it was not out of the fear of death, but rather because "the fasters will be fasting and I will not be among them, the ones who remember of God will be remembering Him I will not be among them, and those who bless the Prophet will be blessing him and I will not be among them."⁴⁷

Al-Hurayfish found the stories reflecting the attitudes of the pious toward death especially persuasive because he followed them with a direct exhortation to his audience urging them to imitate their examples: "So look how these men lamented their passing and rued having to abandon their pious works after death."⁴⁸ Both attitudes are commendable because neither person exhibits sentiments of despair or grief for his passing. 'Ata' al-Muslama merely echoes the "remembrance of death" and "the inevitability of the grave," which are stock themes in both liturgical and hortatory preaching. As for Fath al-Mawsili, it is true that he expresses regret for his imminent death, but it is not the reproachable regret of those wishing to cling to or elongate their lives thereby denying the will of God,⁴⁹ but rather the praiseworthy regret of one who wishes for a bit more time to continue worshipping God in this life.

Their sentiments must be contrasted with those of the family of the Jewish woman whom Muhammad criticized in the hadith cited at the beginning of this chapter. While another hadith cited in al-Bukhari records that Muhammad "did not say that a believer is punished by the weeping of his relatives" but rather that "Allah increases the punishment of a non-believer because of the weeping of his relatives,"⁵⁰ many more traditions indicate that the prohibition against weeping over the dead due to the "torture" incurred by the deceased was intended for Muslims as well.⁵¹ Following on these traditions, another hadith is recorded in which Muhammad expressly forbade wailing and violent gestures of grief for their association with pre-Islamic practices: "the Prophet said, 'He who slaps his cheeks, tears his clothes and follows the ways and traditions of the Days of Ignorance is not one of us.'"⁵² Last but not least, a dialogue between God and one of His prophets, Shu'ayb, associates tears with humility: "God Almighty revealed

to the Prophet Shu'ayb, 'O Shu'ayb, give Me your Godfearing subjugation (*raqbatika al-khudu'*), your humble heart (*qalbika al-khushu'*), and your tearful eyes (*wa-'aynayka l-dumu'*), and call upon Me for I am near.'" ⁵³

To sum up, the hortatory preacher Shu'ayb al-Hurayfish presents his audience with a range of praiseworthy spiritual motivations for crying, privileging, in terms of order and attention accorded, weeping out of fear of God's threats of eschatological punishment (*khawf al-wa'id*) and the fearful veneration of God (*kbashyat Allah*). As the supplication of the Prophet Muhammad made clear, it is this brand of crying that is the most coveted charismatic gift. The hierarchical ranking of crying for this reason is further underscored by the fact that whereas all the sayings of Muhammad cited in this sermon refer to weeping out of the fear of God, the tears of the other prophets, excluding the Prophet Shu'ayb, ⁵⁴ are most often associated with sorrow and remorse for sins committed against God. This distinction coheres with the broader discourse of the superiority of Muhammad, the "Last Prophet," over the pre-Islamic prophets. ⁵⁵ That said, it is also true that al-Hurayfish represents all of these forms of weeping as exemplary, ritually efficacious, and expiatory; such weepers incur divine favor, are granted a privileged place close to God in paradise, and receive divine forgiveness and mercy. By the same token, al-Hurayfish's choice of authoritative sayings and exempla simultaneously exclude or downplay other motives for crying such as bereavement. The exemplum of Jacob weeping over the loss of Joseph is only mentioned briefly once in comparison with the stories of Adam and David, which are repeatedly treated at length.

It is also significant that the mention of the tears of the scriptural prophets first occurs within a discourse exhorting his audience to "glorify the God who causes laughter and tears" and "who afflicts His servants with all manner of afflictions and He does not exempt the prophets from that." ⁵⁶ The enjoinder to glorify God in affliction is at the same time an exhortation against complaining to God about one's affliction and above all about the fact or the timing of one's death. In this al-Hurayfish was merely paraphrasing the qur'anic verses 53:43–44, "And that He it is Who makes (men) laugh and makes (them) weep; and that He it is Who causes death and gives life." In other words, there is a fine line that the believing Muslim must not cross between the praiseworthy crying out of sorrow for having sinned against God or as a means of expiation for sins, and the censurable tears lamenting afflictions which ultimately come from God as well.

In the absence of a contemporary description of al-Hurayfish's sermon on weeping we cannot know the exact circumstances in which he delivered it or the kind of response he received from his audience. Nevertheless, two important internal clues suggest that he intended to provoke weeping in his audience. First of all, structurally the sermon reaches its climaxes when al-Hurayfish chants a lament that resembles the poetic wailing, called *buka'* ("crying"), with which mourners expressed their grief. ⁵⁷ The chant consisted

of a concatenation of short verses in rhymed prose, each of which begins with the words, “*ah ‘ala* (alas).” A few verses will suffice to illustrate:

Alas, souls extinguished by crying and lament!

(*Ah ‘ala nufusin afna-ha l-buka’u wa-l-‘awil*)

Alas, limbs whose repugnant deeds are confronted with beautiful deeds!

(*Ah ‘ala jawaribu qabalat bi-fi’li-ha l-qabihi l-fi’lu l-jamil*)

Alas, inner hearts that were not torn apart by the fear of the Glorious King!

(*Ah ‘ala akbadin lam tataqatta’ khifatan min al-malak al-jalil*)

Alas, hearts that never contemplated the day of the deathly exodus!

(*Ah ‘ala qulubin lam tatafakkir fi yawm al-mawt al-rabil*).⁵⁸

One can readily appreciate how the repetition of the evocative onomatopoeic wailing sound of the interjection, “*ah ‘ala*,” followed by powerful, embodied images of regret over one’s past sins and failings and the impending Judgment might have stirred the emotions of audience. Secondly, al-Hurayfish ended each unit of stories about the prophets and pious weepers with brief verses of poetry and he concluded the sermon with a recitation of a lengthy ascetic poem.

The recitation of ascetic contemplative or love poetry is well attested in hortatory preaching. Most of the homiletic exhortations preserved in al-Jahiz’s belletrist anthology contain poetic verse.⁵⁹ So closely associated was poetry with this type of preaching that it figures as a staple feature of the satirical *maqama* genre. Many of al-Hariri’s assemblies end with the wily Abu Zayd reciting ascetic poetry.⁶⁰ More to the point and as the following section’s discussion of the popular preacher Ibn al-Jawzi will show, preachers who ended their sermons in this way led their audiences into outbursts of crying and fits of ecstasy. Yet, as we shall also see, the public and uncontrolled nature of such crying was one factor that caused some jurists and more learned preachers to suspect the true motivations—the ill-gotten gains of charity from an unsuspecting public, illicit access to pious women, an undeserved reputation as a holy man—of those who engaged in this type of homiletic exhortation.

Another reason was that many of the stories that hortatory and storytelling preachers such as al-Hurayfish narrated in their sermons came from apocryphal sources. A typical example is the tale he attributed to Wahb ibn Munabbih (d. 110/728), an expert on the traditions about the pre-Islamic prophets, to the effect that the “Prophet David [. . .] knelt praying on a mountain in India (Hind) for one hundred years crying until his tears became the water [surrounding the island] of Sarandib (Sri Lanka).”⁶¹ Needless to say, this story does not appear in the Qur’an or the canonical hadith traditions. The passing off of such spurious tales in the guise of true traditions led Muhammad al-Sakhawi (d. 902/1497), a prominent Egyptian Hadith scholar and biographer, to remark in his biographical

account of al-Hurayfish preaching in Mecca that "he had the vile speech of the *harafish* of Egypt," typical of their "atheistic heresy (*zandaqatabu*).⁶² Al-Sakhawi was so scandalized that he sought "forgiveness from God for [himself] and for al-Hurayfish" after reporting about his sermon.⁶²

THE PREACHER'S TEARS

An eyewitness of the preaching of the famous Iraqi hortatory preacher, Ibn al-Jawzi, described the profound impact that his sermons made upon his audience. It was Ibn al-Jawzi's custom to end his sermons with a recitation of Sufi mystical love poetry (*nasib*), which "aroused intense desire (*tash-wiq*) and [. . .] kindled the flames of the heart in mystical ecstasy (*wajd*)."⁶³ According to the eyewitness, the traveler Ibn Jubayr (d. 614/1217), on one occasion Ibn al-Jawzi succumbed to the power of his own oratory:

Emotion visibly overtook him and tears almost prevented him from speaking so that we feared lest he choke. Then suddenly he got up from his seat and descended from the pulpit, and having instilled fear into the hearts of those present, he left them as though on burning coals. They followed him with tears of agitation, some weeping profusely, and some rolling in the dust.⁶⁴

Ibn al-Jawzi also authored a preaching manual in which he advised preachers to arouse the emotions of fear of the threat of God's eschatological punishments (*takhwif al-wa'id*) and longing for paradise (*tashwiq al-janna*) in their audiences through a combination of "tenderhearted warnings (*mawa'iz muraqqqa*)" and "fear-inspiring exhortations (*mukhawwafat*)."⁶⁵ In so doing, he emphasized the sentiments and affective states that preachers should seek to provoke rather than their exterior somatization in crying. Still, he invoked the example of the Prophet, whose homiletic warnings resulted in "tear-filled eyes and fear-filled hearts."⁶⁶

Yet Ibn Jubayr's testimony reveals that the preacher himself may be reduced to tears by the emotions aroused by his own stories, exhortations, and homiletic poetry. The medieval Arabic biographical sources also depict preachers given to abundant weeping or who provoke weeping in their audience as the possessors of a rare charismatic gift. It should be noted from the outset that there exist multiple genres of medieval Islamic biographical literature, the major two being the prosopographic dictionaries (*tarajim*) of social collectives, notably, religious scholars ('*ulama'*, s. '*alim*) and religious judges (*qadat*, s. '*qadi*), and hagiographic accounts of the "heroic virtues (*manaqib*)" or "miracles (*karamat*)" of the saints (*awliya'*) or pious individuals (*al-salihin*).⁶⁷ In addition, biographical notices of the '*ulama'* or other renowned persons may be included in other genres of literature. For instance, we shall see presently that Ibn Abi Zar', a fourteenth-century Maghrebi chronicler and preacher of

Fez, devoted a chapter to the lives of all the liturgical preachers (*khutaba'*, s. *khatib*) who preached in the congregational mosque of Qarawiyyin from its foundation until his own time.⁶⁸

Very few of the Andalusí and Maghrebi biographical accounts consulted for this study describe preachers with a reputation for crying, and among these only a few are seen provoking tears in others. In each case, the biographer or chronicler appears to highlight these qualities as something unusual and occasionally provides an explanation of the motive of the preacher and/or the audience's tears. A compelling illustration of this is seen in the aforementioned chronicler, Ibn Abi Zar's account of "the pious (*al-salih*), godfearing (*al-wara'*), learned man," Abu 'Imran Musa (d. 598/1201), who taught children the Qur'an. Musa was famous for his extreme humility, "beautiful heart-wrenching voice (*sawt shajji hasan*)," and his ability to make "anyone who listened to him cry (*yubki kulla man yasma'uhu*)."⁶⁹ According to Ibn Abi Zar', when Musa was informed of his appointment as *khatib* of the Qarawiyyin Mosque, "he became shocked, dismissed the children, and began to cry and supplicate God, saying, 'O my God! Do not put me before your servants! O Merciful one!'"⁷⁰ Musa's crying stemmed out of his own Sufi- or ascetic-inspired sense of humility and unworthiness, as is seen in the continuation of the account, whereupon, the Thursday prior to his debut as the *khatib* of the Friday worship:

Musa spent the day walking among the tombs of the saints, praying and crying until night arrived. He then entered the Sufi lodge (*rabita*) and spent the entire night there with a group of his companions, praying, reciting the Qur'an, invoking God, and crying. Those present cried upon seeing his tears and his humility.⁷¹

Musa exhibited this quality in his debut as *khatib*, for "he climbed the pulpit and the people looked at him and he cried and sighed" all the while the muezzin pronounced the call to prayer.⁷² He then delivered his sermon with dignity and composure on the pulpit. However, when he descended and later explained the meaning of the sermon to the people, he once again "cried and made those who heard him cry (*wa-baka wa-abka man sami'ahu*)."⁷³ It is noteworthy that the attributes of abundant weeping, spending all night in prayer, supplicating God and crying, and wandering among the tombs crying while presumably pondering death are all signature traits mentioned in the biographies of Sufi saints and ascetics.⁷⁴ And yet the biographer Ibn Abi Zar' does not describe Musa as either an ascetic (*zahid*) or a Sufi mystic—a subtle reminder that these collectives do not enjoy the monopoly on these virtues; Musa's gift of tears is represented as the exteriorization of his extreme humility (*khushu'*) and the result of his frequent supplications of God.

As regards his ability to provoke weeping in others, it is interesting to contrast the portraits of Abu 'Imran Musa and his Iraqi contemporary Ibn

al-Jawzi. We have seen that Ibn Jubayr depicted the audience's response of collective wailing, agitated tears, and rolling in the dust as the result of the content of Ibn al-Jawzi's sermon, particularly the love poetry he recited at the end of the homily.⁷⁵ By contrast, Ibn Abi Zar' emphasized that it was the quality of Musa's "beautiful heart-wrenching voice" that made "anyone who listened to him cry." Moreover, his own tears produced a mimetic effect upon the audience, for thrice Ibn Abi Zar' mentioned that the people cried because they *saw* and were moved by his crying and humility. Indeed, even Abu 'Abd Allah al-Huwari, the newly appointed Almohad religious judge of Qarawiyyin whom Ibn Abi Zar' portrays as hard-hearted for wanting to replace Musa with another preacher, "cried and begged [Musa] for forgiveness" after listening to his sermon.⁷⁶

The qualities of an unusually beautiful voice and copious weeping appear conjoined in another biographical portrait of a *khatib*. The Valencian biographer, Ibn al-Abbar (d. 658/1260) left the following eyewitness account of his impressions of the Murcian liturgical preacher, Ibn al-Adib al-Tujibi, in action:

As soon as I heard the voice of Ibn al-Adib al-Tujibi, I knew that he feared God and disdained the mundane world (*idha sami'tu sawtahu 'ariftu annahu yaksha Allah wa-mutaqallilan min al-dunya* [. . . he was] an eloquent orator, shedding abundant tears (*ghazir al-dami'a*); he cried and made [others] cry whenever he preached (*baka wa-yubki idha khataba*).⁷⁷

In this case, al-Tujibi's voice and abundant tears somatize his inner qualities of ascetic piety and worldly renunciation. The rarity of these accounts must be emphasized because each author describes numerous other preachers endowed with the attributes of ascetic piety, humility, and God-fearingness, but who lack the gifts of copious tears and/or the ability to provoke weeping. Indeed, Musa's own son seems to have inherited his father's beautiful voice, "great humility, and abundant tears (*kathir al-khushu' wa-l-baka'*)," but not his capacity to make his audience cry.⁷⁸ The relative scarcity of reports about liturgical preachers who cried during their sermons or to whom the gift of tears was attributed suggests that this trait was considered an *exceptional* sign of charisma rather than an essential quality of these preachers.

Nor was charismatic weeping a feature that biographers singled out in their portraits of hortatory preachers. Ibn Jubayr's account of Ibn al-Jawzi's tearful preaching, mentioned earlier, described one of two homiletic sessions that he attended; Ibn al-Jawzi did not cry during the other. Moreover, upon closer inspection, it becomes clear that the Iraqi preacher wept because he became overwhelmed by his emotions. His subsequent actions are revealing: he descended the pulpit and made a speedy exit. In other words, he does not fit the profile of the preacher endowed with the gift of

tears. In fact, as we shall see below, he advised preachers to avoid public weeping. The following section will show that the reticence among some religious elites to attribute the gift of tears to hortatory preachers is informed by underlying doubts regarding the juridical validity of their preaching and/or suspicions about the sincerity of their tears and their motivations in general—suspicions that Ibn al-Jawzi seems to have harbored.

PROVOKED TEARS AND THE PROBLEM OF AUTHENTICITY

Thus far the discussion of the shedding of tears has shown that crying can signify a variety of religiously approved sentiments and emotive states—the fear of God, the fear of His punishments, extreme humility, remorse and repentance for sins, and the remembrance of death and its torments, among others. In all of the accounts there has been an underlying presumption of authenticity, meaning that the tears shed, whether a single tear or abundant “torrential” weeping, were the outer signs of truly heartfelt emotions.⁷⁹ Yet a survey of medieval Islamic preaching manuals and juridical literature reveals concerns regarding whether tears signified authentic or hypocritical religious sentiment and about even what constituted the appropriate way of crying.

These concerns are reflected in the comments of two fourteenth-century jurists, Ibn al-Hajj, an Egyptian scholar and author of a juridical compendium, *Madkhal al-shar‘ al-sharif* (Introduction to the Noble Law),⁸⁰ and Ibn al-‘Attar, a Syrian religious jurist and *khatib* and author of a unique liturgical preaching manual, *Adab al-khatib* (The Manners of the Liturgical Preacher).⁸¹ In both works the issue of tears arose within the discussion of the “innovations (*bida‘*)” that liturgical and particularly hortatory preachers had introduced into their homiletic ceremonies. As noted, early Muslim hadith traditionists and jurisprudents used the term *bida‘* to refer to novelties in religious orthopraxy, which had no precedent in the actions of the Prophet Muhammad and the first Muslim community, and therefore should be censured and forbidden. From the tenth century onward, treatises against novelties and innovations in religion began to appear in the Islamic world.⁸² In these works the hortatory preachers and especially the storytellers were criticized for such novelties as theatrical and ecstatic gestures, namely “wailing aloud and screaming (*al-siyyah wa-l-sarakh*), clawing at their faces (*latm al-wajh*), ripping out their hair (*natf al-sha‘r*), and rending their clothing (*shaqq al-thayyab*).” For Ibn al-‘Attar, it was bad enough that the preachers did this; even more reprehensible was that they “incited the people (*tahyij al-nufus ‘ala*) to imitate them in their vile conduct.”⁸³

Ibn al-Hajj denounced the hypocrisy of these “tyrants (*zalama*)” because through the performance of such deeds they would instill fear in the common people, “provoking them to shed tears and become humbled and humiliated, while they would remain as they are without eradicating

their sins or repenting to God."⁸⁴ Ibn al-Hajj coincided with Ibn al-ʿAttar on the corrupting effect such preachers had on the people: their wailing aloud, screeching, and other untoward gestures not only proved "the corruption of the hearts [of the preachers] (*maftuna qulubihim*)"; they in turn "corrupted the hearts of those who enjoyed [their sermons] (*wa-qulub man aʿjabahum*)."⁸⁵

Upon first sight, there seems to be a contradiction between Ibn al-ʿAttar and Ibn al-Hajj's complaints about the wailing of hortatory preachers and the praise the biographers Ibn al-Abbar and Ibn Abi Zarʿ expressed for the liturgical preachers, Abu ʿImran Musa and al-Tujibi, both of whom were described as "crying and making others cry." Yet these contradictions quickly dissipate upon closer inspection. In the first place, the jurists' criticisms were directed specifically at "wailing aloud and screeching (*al-siyyah wa-l-sarakh*)," that is, extremely loud and spectacular crying. There were legal and moral problems with this conduct. As noted, the jurists counted loud wailing and screeching in sermons among the "innovations" that had no precedent in Muhammad's time. This alone sufficed to delegitimize it in the eyes of many jurists. Ibn al-ʿAttar cited a hadith to illustrate the liturgically proper manner of responding to the preacher's exhortations, based upon the exemplary conduct of the Prophet's Companions: "When they heard his exhortation, their hearts became afraid (*wajilat qulubuhum*), their eyes flowed with tears (*dharafat ʿuyunuhum*), and they lowered their heads (*wa-ghaddat ruʿusuhum*)."⁸⁶ The hadith advocates crying as a fitting response to homiletic exhortation, as long as they are silent, hidden, discreet tears, welling up in the eyes, yet hidden from view by the lowering of the head in a gesture of humility.

Another legal rationale for condemning wailing and screeching was that Muhammad had expressly forbidden "ostentation" and "making a show (*jahr*)" in one's worship and piety. A number of prophetic hadiths attest to this, among them the following: "Whoever establishes prayers during the nights of Ramadan faithfully out of sincere faith and hoping to attain Allah's rewards (not for showing off), all his past sins will be forgiven."⁸⁷ According to another saying, "When the verses of charity were revealed, we used to work as porters; a man came and distributed objects of charity in abundance. And they (the people) said, 'He is showing off.'"⁸⁸ Ibn al-Hajj and Ibn al-ʿAttar invoked similar arguments to censure other innovations that had come to be in vogue among the *khatibs* of their time, such as raising the voice to shout the blessing upon the Prophet, or climbing up one stair of the pulpit to pronounce the blessing and then retreating afterward.⁸⁹ For the same reason they reprimanded the people for shouting the blessing upon the Prophet during the *khutba*, an act that, moreover, was expressly forbidden by Islamic Law, which prescribed "absolute silence" and "listening with attention" while the *khatib* delivered the canonical sermon.⁹⁰ Wailing aloud, together with the uncontrolled and ecstatic gestures which often accompanied it, further violated the aura of "serenity

and dignity (*al-sukun* [or *al-sakina*] *wa-l-waqar* [or *al-tawqir*])” that were prescribed liturgical conditions of the *khutba*.⁹¹ The preachers and their audiences who behaved ostentatiously manifested the “corruption of their hearts” in the same way that the humility and God-fearingness of Abu ‘Imran Musa and al-Tujibi were immediately visible to anyone who saw their pious weeping.

Undoubtedly, there is a degree of cultural chauvinism in the fact that the *khatib*’s capacity to “cry and make others cry” is invariably praised in the biographical literature and the chronicles as an external proof of his genuinely profound fear of God, whereas the same ability in the hortatory (and storytelling) preachers is often subjected to scrutiny and accusations of fakery and affectation. The accusations must be placed within the context of wider juridical, moral, and political discourses censuring the diffusion of unsubstantiated hadiths and apocryphal or false stories about the prophets and the early Islamic heroes in an attempt to fool the unlearned masses or to promote the religio-political legitimacy of one sect over another.⁹² The discourse on authentic versus fake or hypocritical tears was just one part of a larger debate over who should have the authority to define the “authentic” and “orthodox” religious traditions and practices, who had the power to decide which traditions or texts formed part of the canon and which should be excluded, and what was and was not appropriately Islamic moral conduct, included society’s “feeling rules.”⁹³

In medieval Islamic cultures this authority was largely invested in the ‘*ulama*’ or “men of knowledge” by virtue of their command of the Qur’an, the Hadith, and the other foundational texts of Islamic Law. The judges, jurists, liturgical preachers, prayer leaders, and other religious elites formed part of the ‘*ulama*’. They were also the authors of the preaching manuals, the treatises on religious innovations (*bida’*), the treatises on ethics and morality, the “stories of the prophets” and other paranaetic literature, and of much of the biographical and historical literature—Ibn Abi Zar‘ was a *khatib* as well as an historian, and Ibn al-Abbar was a hadith traditionist as well as a biographer and a poet—which shaped the emotional culture of Islam. While some hortatory preachers and storytellers may have been charlatans who were unschooled in the religious sciences or used their knowledge and eloquence to dupe an unsuspecting public, it would be wrong to assume that this was the case of all hortatory preachers and storytellers. As I have demonstrated elsewhere, the scholarly formation of many hortatory preachers was indistinguishable from that of the *khatibs*.⁹⁴

The example of Ibn al-Jawzi is a case in point. In addition to being a famous preacher, Ibn al-Jawzi was also a renowned Hanbali jurisconsult, hadith traditionist, and a teacher of Islamic jurisprudence who was well integrated into Baghdad’s circle of religious and political elites. As noted, he wrote a preaching manual for hortatory and storytelling preachers and compiled sermon anthologies to be used as model sermons by other preachers.⁹⁵ Like Ibn al-‘Attar, the *khatib* and author of a preaching manual for

liturgical preachers, Ibn al-Jawzi was equally concerned about the moral probity and conduct of the preachers of his profession. Indeed, one of the most vivid descriptions of the charlatanry of the popular preachers comes from the pen of this famed Iraqi hortatory preacher. Ibn al-Jawzi described an incident he personally witnessed of a homiletic storyteller (*qass*) who, "when he ascended the pulpit, covered his face and trembled continuously until the reciters of the Qur'an had finished their recitation."⁹⁶ He had also heard of preachers who smelled something irritating that caused their tears to flow prior to the commencement of the sermon, and who rent their garments and threw themselves over the pulpit to give "the impression of having a mystical experience (*tawajjud*)."⁹⁷ Still other storytellers would apply "oil and cumin to their faces in order to make them appear pale."⁹⁸

Particularly relevant are the comments that Ibn al-Jawzi makes immediately following his description of the censurable deeds of the storyteller, which address the issue of the emotional impact of the preachers' feigned piety upon the audience. He warned his readers:

Now, when something is obtained through fear of being censured it is unlawful, as in the case of what is given to the poet out of fear of becoming the object of his satire. [. . .] Because of the delicate and sensitive character of religious piety (*wara'*) and the noble quality of moral precepts (*akhlaq*), neither the receiving nor the giving of gifts at a time when emotions are wrought up is to be sanctioned regardless of whether these emotions be joy or sadness[. . .] Hardly ever is human judgement sound at times of passionate outbursts of joy or sadness or anger.⁹⁹

Although no explicit mention is made of crying or tears in this passage, Ibn al-Jawzi's perceptive observations are nevertheless germane to the present discussion, since crying is one of the ways in which the audience somatized its "passionate outbursts of sadness" or fear. His main criticism here about the people giving gifts to storytelling preachers at a time when their emotions are wrought up is directly related to the previous discussion in which he reproached these preachers for feigning weeping and using tricks to make themselves cry in order to cause an impression.¹⁰⁰

As far as Ibn al-Jawzi was concerned, the bogus tearful performances that unlearned and unscrupulous preachers deployed to fool the people and wrangle gifts out of them only made manifest their own hypocrisy. As further proof, he cited the example of Abu Zur'a al-Razi (d. 268/881), a noted Hanbali traditionist, who responded thus to a preacher who bragged that he wept and caused others to weep: "Weeping is only for those who go into their houses and close their doors and weep for their sins. But as for him who [. . .] roams among the garrison cities weeping, I will not approve! These are the kinds of deeds that come from those who take the possessions of people and devour them, who go around looking for dirhams and dinars."¹⁰¹ Again, Ibn al-Jawzi expresses his clear preference for discreet,

private, penitential tears and his disapproval of public displays of weeping. Speaking as a member of the profession, Ibn al-Jawzi had a vested interest in ensuring the probity of those who preached exhortations and edifying stories. Not only should the content of their sermons be truthful and sincere, being based on the authentic hadith traditions, this discursive sincerity must be embodied in the preacher's demeanor and praxis. He ought to be "grave, sober, and restrained in his outward appearance" and should refrain from "erratic bodily movements, the rending of garments, and the crying out with a loud voice" because these are affected innovations: they "are not among the things prescribed by the Law of God."¹⁰² Above all, the preacher should "fear God" and be "pure" in his intentions and devoid of any desire to gain wealth or fame, "for whenever exhortation issues from the heart of a *truthful* man (*al-sadiq*) it makes an impression on the hearts [of those who hear him]."¹⁰³

To sum up, we may say that Ibn al-Jawzi's complaints about crying revolved around two themes: the illegitimacy of a variety of gestures, including a particular type of weeping, "crying out with a loud voice," which had no precedent in "the Law of God," and the unscrupulous intentionality and motives that underlay the feigning of the preacher's tears, along with the concomitant provocation of hysterical crying in the audience for material gain. One should not assume, however, that the *'ulamá'*, guardians of religious orthodoxy and arbiters of society's "feeling rules" that they were, condemned all fora in which preachers provoked mass weeping. As we shall see in the final section, the hypocritical tears characteristic of popular preachers, beggars, or other charlatans inhabiting the "medieval underworld" of Muslim societies must not be confused with the provoked, ritualized weeping that formed a consubstantial part of the celebration of the rogation prayer and sermon for rain in times of drought (*salat al-istisqa'*).

PENITENTIAL TEARS

One Friday morning the powerful Cordoban judge and gifted *khatib*, Mundhir b. Sa'id (d. 355/966) decided that enough was enough. The caliph 'Abd al-Rahman III al-Nasir (r. 300–350/912–961) had been so consumed with the construction of Madinat al-Zahra' (the Dazzling City), the palatial city he ordered built as a landmark to the "everlasting power of his kingdom and the might of his rule," that he missed no less than three consecutive Friday services. And now that he finally had deigned to attend the Friday sermon and prayer, Mundhir was determined to "publicly humble and humiliate him with exhortations that would make him repent and return to God." When the time came, Mundhir ascended the pulpit of the Great Mosque of Cordoba and he preached a rousing *khutba* on the vanity of the construction of buildings in which he incited the fear of death and its

suddenness, and extolled a life of asceticism and repudiation of worldly pleasures.¹⁰⁴ The *khutba* produced the desired effect upon the audience, for according to the Moroccan historian al-Maqqari (d. 1016/1607):

[The people] became humbled (*khasha'u*), their hearts melted (*raqqu*), they confessed [their sins] (*i'tarafu*), they cried (*baku*), they clamored (*dajju*), they supplicated [God] (*da'u*), and they acknowledged their unworthiness before God Almighty in repentance (*wa-a'lanu l-tadarru'a ila Allah ta'ala fi-l-tawba*) and implored God's forgiveness.¹⁰⁵

But what of the caliph, the real target of the *khutba*? From the narrator's tone it is clear that al-Nasir's reaction was feigned. Seeing the impact of Mundhir's sermon on the people, he is said to have "followed their lead, exceeding them, since he knew that the one alluded to was him. So he cried, showed remorse (*nadama*) over his past excesses, and sought refuge in God."¹⁰⁶ And yet, his subsequent conduct, hosting a lavish assembly at Madinat al-Zahra', proved that the sermon's message had not taken effect. But an even better opportunity presented itself to humble the caliph when al-Nasir asked Mundhir to lead the sermon and prayer for rain (*salat al-istisqa'*) because the country was experiencing a severe drought.

The rain rogation is a canonical ritual prescribed in times of drought. It consists of a sermon and prayer in which the rites, gestures, and emotionality of the ritual actors—preacher and audience—are liturgically scripted according to the custom (*sunna*) established by the Prophet Muhammad.¹⁰⁷ A striking feature of the ceremony is the proactive engagement of the audience, which is deemed crucial for the efficacy of the ritual. Thus the general public or, in the case of al-Maqqari's account, the caliph might take the initiative and request the *khatib* to conduct the ritual. Alternatively, the preacher might convoke the population. In all cases, once the specific time of the ritual is agreed upon, all those involved are expected to prepare themselves beforehand, undertaking penitential rites such as fasting and performing voluntary prayers. Another key element of the ritual is the discourse of "sincerity" (*ikhlas*), "truthful disinterest" (*sidq*), and "purity of intentions" (*niyyat*)¹⁰⁸ of the ritual actors. Ritual success is attributed to the authenticity of the emotions displayed in the public weeping and other gestures of atonement. This discursive onus on the sincerity of ritual weeping challenges the scholarly view that "true tears are spontaneous," while ritual weeping is merely a symbolic manifestation of social and power relationships.¹⁰⁹ The *salat al-istisqa'* allows for the possibility of coexistence between the performativity and symbolism and the authenticity of ritual tears.

The first of the two rain rituals that al-Maqqari recorded appears in the chronicle immediately after the incident of the Friday prayer and thus is informed by Mundhir's quest to humble al-Nasir. I would argue that the structural juxtaposition of the two events reflects the belief that severe drought is a divine castigation for sin,¹¹⁰ and thus insinuates that al-Nasir's

ostentation and religious neglect provoked the wrath of God. The narrative contrasts Mundhir's idealized display of God-fearingness with that of al-Nasir's, which seems to fall short: after, having fasted for three days prior to the ceremony, "performing supererogatory prayers, turning to God in repentance and in **terror** [of Him] (*wa-rabbatan*)," Mundhir came out toward the people, "walking, submissively imploring [God], humbling himself before Him," before he began to preach.¹¹¹ By contrast, al-Maqqari hints that the caliph retained an element of haughtiness and insincerity by stressing that he "had gone up to the top of his palace to welcome the people," although he did participate with them in the procession going out "humbly and submissively" to the place of prayer. Yet the caliph is not mentioned again in this account, which is significant because al-Maqqari said that "the people" responded to Mundhir's exhortations "clamoring in tears and supplicating [God] fervently with sighs," and he specifically underscored the "sincerity" of their emotions: "And **true devotion** issued from his warnings (*wa-inba'atha l-ikhlas bi-tadbkirih*)."¹¹² The implication is that the ritual failed to inspire "*true devotion*" in the caliph al-Nasir.

The second rogation ritual produced the intended effect upon the caliph. As in the first ritual, it was he who asked Mundhir to conduct the ceremony. Yet this time, rather than remaining on high in his palace, al-Nasir is shown arriving first at the place of prayer and leading the way in abject humility. Whereas the first account focused on Mundhir's prior acts of contrition, here it is al-Nasir who goes into "isolated spiritual retreat, wearing the shoddiest clothing (*labisa akhass al-thayyab*)." He covered his head and beard with ashes, and "he cried and confessed his sins (*i'tarafa bi-dhunubih*), saying, 'My life is in Your hands. Do You see fit to torment my subjects because of me? You are the most Wise of the wise. Nothing I have done has escaped You.'"¹¹³ According to al-Maqqari, when Mundhir b. Sa'id received word of this "he smiled, his face beaming with joy" over al-Nasir's humiliation and repentance, and he predicted that "God would allow the rain to fall because the mighty one of the earth has abjectly humbled himself (*khasha'a jabbar al-ard*)," and in response, "the Mighty One of the Heavens has had mercy (*fa-qad rahima jabbar al-sama'*)." And so it happened: hardly had Mundhir finished the rogation *khutba* when the rain poured down on the people.¹¹⁴

It must be noted that Mundhir's joyful reaction to the caliph's tearful atonement contrasts starkly with the preacher's reaction to the people in a parallel scene in the first rogation ritual. There we read that "when [Mundhir] saw the complete abasement and submission of the people to God and their fear of [Him] [. . .], his heart softened, his eyes clouded over, and he shed tears and cried for a while."¹¹⁵ Mundhir's disparate responses illustrate Gary Ebesole's argument about the need to consider ritual weeping in light of the social relationships and relative social positions of individual ritual actors.¹¹⁶ Mundhir was moved to tears by the people's sincere contrition because they had reaffirmed their rightful disposition of abject humility

and God-fearingness. Meanwhile, al-Nasir's heartfelt ritual weeping provoked smiles of joy in Mundhir because the proper moral relationship of abasement of the "mighty one of the earth" before the "mighty one of the heavens" had finally been restored.

In this episode provoked weeping was central to the rogation ritual as an outer sign of the community's collective expiation for sins committed and their complete humiliation and submission to God. As depicted, the preacher consciously provoked these sentiments in his sermon via exhortation and scriptural recitation. Unfortunately, al-Maqqari only provides a bare summary of the content of Mundhir's sermon in the first rogation ritual and no details are forthcoming in the second. We only read that Mundhir began the sermon by reciting Q 6:54: "Your Lord has inscribed for Himself the rule of Mercy: verily, if any of you did evil in ignorance, and thereafter repented, and amended (his conduct), lo! He is oft-forgiving and Most Merciful." He then followed this scriptural quotation with repeated exhortations to "seek God's forgiveness (*istaghfiru rabbakum*)," "turn to Him in repentance (*tubu ilayhi*)," and "to curry His favor by performing good deeds."¹¹⁷ The tears of the preacher, the audience, and especially the caliph seem to have assumed the function of mimetic ritual or sympathetic magic: by shedding loud tears they hoped to stir the divine compassion needed to produce rain from heaven.¹¹⁸ This would explain why the custom (*sunna*) of the *salat al-istisqa'* permitted the people to respond audibly, invoking aloud their repentance, and "clamoring in tears, supplicating God fervently with sighs (*ja'aru bi-l-du'a*)," whereas, as noted, during the Friday and the other *khutbas* silence is prescribed and thus jurists such as Ibn al-Hajj insisted that the audience should only cry or utter their repentance secretly to themselves (*sirran fi nafshih*) and in silence.¹¹⁹

In sum, the episodes described in the preceding illustrate the recourses preachers had to manipulate the religious sentiments of their audience. In the first episode, the deliberation with which Mundhir b. Sa'id set out to "publicly humble and humiliate the caliph al-Nasir" was particularly striking, and this underlying political agenda is made clear by the narrator's use of the verb *ghadda*, instead of the more common *khashsha'a*, which means instilling an attitude of spiritual humility before God. *Ghadda* is used to denote physical and spatial lowering, as in the aforementioned hadith that the Syrian jurist Ibn al-'Attar quoted in his complaint about affective piety in the *khutba*: "When [the Companions of the Prophet] heard his exhortation, their hearts became afraid, their eyes flowed with tears, and they lowered their heads (*wa-ghaddat ru'usuhum*)."¹²⁰ Yet *ghadda* may also refer to the social humiliation of someone and the diminishing of their reputation in the eyes of their peers as well as before God, and I believe that Mundhir b. Sa'id had this double intentionality in mind. Hence his rejoicing upon hearing that al-Nasir had finally understood and truly repented his sins, as witnessed in his visible signs of abject humility, remorse, and contrition—spiritual isolation, donning of old worn clothes, covering his head and

beard in ash as a sign of mourning, and weeping abundantly. Mundhir (and the narrator al-Maqqari) interpreted these as *authentic* tears, as opposed to the hypocritical tears al-Nasir shed at the Friday *khutba*.

The legitimacy of the provoked public weeping of the *salat al-istisqa'* ritual is grounded in Muhammad's custom (*sunna*), and the expressive, tearful, penitential clamoring of the community is essential to the efficacy of the ritual. In this case the performativity of the people's tears of humility and contrition does not detract from the authenticity of their sentiments. Rather, it is culturally defined as a genuine and appropriate expression of the terror of God's punishment, which has already come upon the people in the form of a severe drought, and of repentance for the sins that provoked God's wrath in the first place.

CONCLUSIONS: ASSESSING THE EMOTIONALITY OF TEARS

As we just seen, the cultural norms governing crying in medieval Sunni Islam are complex. They are founded upon and perpetuated by a variety of texts whose canonicity, with the exception of scripture, was not always recognized or unanimously agreed upon. The Qur'an, the Hadith traditions, treatises on religious innovation, "stories of the prophets," and paranaetic and homiletic literature provided both the religious norms and the pious models of the legitimate and illegitimate motivations for shedding tears, and the proper manner in which crying should be done. Taken together, they helped shape the emotional grid that forms part of Muslim religious and communal identities. Because of their particular rhetorical and oratorical skills and their authoritative position, it is obvious that medieval liturgical and "popular" hortatory and storytelling preachers played a special role in channeling the sentiments of their audiences. They were upheld as "models (*qudwat*)" of religious and moral conduct both on and off the pulpit, and I have attempted to show some of the ways in which their exemplary behavior and words informed the cultural codes for crying.

Especially important, in my opinion, is the emphasis that the preachers placed on instilling sentiments of fear toward God. I deliberately use the plural, "sentiments," because we have seen that preachers employed a variety of terms in this regard. Crying out of the fear of the threat of God's eschatological punishments (*khawf al-wa'id*) resulted from pondering this not only as a theological dogma, but even more so from reflecting upon whatever sins one might have committed that would lead to the hellfire. The mere evocation of this threat could have sufficed as a deterrent of sin and a powerful motivator of tears. Yet crying for this reason was of a different order than the tears shed out of a "reverential fear of God (*khashyat Allah*)," which the hortatory preacher Shu'ayb al-Hurayfish represented as a charismatic gift that distinguished Muhammad from the pre-Islamic prophets. Although only a passing mention was made of the term *taqwa*

Allah, a term that also means "the fear of God," but that most often is translated as "piety," it should be noted that the imperative form of this phrase, "fear God (*ittaqu Allah*)!" is one of the most common exhortations with which liturgical preachers first addressed their audiences, and it served as a constant reminder to act righteously by obeying God and His Prophet. The normalcy of this command is itself an indication of the status of *taqwa* as one of the principal attributives of medieval Muslims. At the same time, it must be noted that inherent in the exhortations to fear God is the concomitant reproach against exhibiting the same awesome fear toward one's fellow human beings. This was the logic behind Ibn al-Jawzi's warning to preachers that it was "unlawful" for them to seek to instill fear in the people for being censured or put to shame by their peers.

Furthermore, the discussion of the rogation *khutba* demonstrated that there were occasions that demanded the arousal of more intense feelings of "terror of God (*rahbat Allah*)" and His awesome power. To assuage the divine anger, which had taken the form of a castigating drought, it was necessary to make an extraordinary show of communal repentance, in which spontaneous wailing aloud and clamoring for God's forgiveness played a fundamental role in the efficacy of the ritual. Yet al-Maqqari's narrative also presented the "sincerity (*ikhlas*)" of the tears and emotions displayed as a necessary condition to bring the rain. Although further investigations into a much larger corpus of texts than those considered here remains to be done, my sense is that preachers upheld shedding *genuine* tears for this reason as one of the characteristics that distinguished Muslims from their religious rivals. As evidence, I suggested that al-Hurayfish's contrasting depictions of the pre-Islamic prophets Adam and David weeping copiously for their sins versus the image of Muhammad praying for the gift of "torrential" tears out of the fear of God (*khashiyat Allah*) should be interpreted as part of the dominant Islamic discourse that defined Muslims as "the best community" because their prophet was also the "best" and the "last of the prophets." And while Shu'ayb al-Hurayfish may not be the most representative of hortatory preachers, given the notoriety of the *Harafish* for charlatanry, the "tales of the prophets" from which he seems to have drawn much of the material for his sermon on crying were widely diffused.

Crying out of the "fear of God" and of His punishments signifies Muslim orthodoxy; it manifests the appropriate ontological distance between God and humans. The Muslim "servant (*'abd*)" owes his or her creator fear in the broader senses of the awe, reverence, and piety of someone who recognizes and accepts their humble position vis-à-vis their creator. I have insisted on this because the scholarship thus far on the subject of the emotions in Islam has dealt overwhelmingly with expressions of grief, with pride of place given to gender differences, highlighting the role of women in Sunni and Shi'i mourning and penitential rituals.

The analysis of the homiletic sources seems to point in a different direction, however. A number of hadith traditions were cited in which the Prophet

admonished against crying over the dead. Of these, only one specified that a woman was crying. In another, the crier was male; the rest made no reference to the gender, but rather issued the general warning that the deceased's "torments" in the grave increased as a result of crying. This topic did not arise in the sermons analyzed for this study. Instead, the homilies discussed themes such as the remembrance of death and the final return to God; death's inevitability and its sudden arrival; the agonies of the death process and the torments to be suffered in the grave prior to the Resurrection; and the events of the Final Judgment. Muslim preachers repeatedly warned of these themes in their sermons, and their own crying, as well as the tears they induced in their audiences as a result of this were the culturally defined appropriate ways of crying about death. Indeed, so dominant were these homiletic motifs that they appear even in the description of charlatan preachers in the literary parodies.¹²¹ Again, further research needs to be done to corroborate the evidence presented here. However, I believe it is significant that the criticisms that jurists such as Ibn al-Hajj and Ibn al-ʿAttar and the popular preacher Ibn al-Jawzi expressed against unscrupulous hortatory preachers and storytellers had to do with the fraudulence of their intentions, the insincerity of their piety—as witnessed by their recourse to tricks to feign crying—and their incorporation of apocryphal or altered traditions into their sermons. Even on this latter point, my sense is that their alterations merely distorted the existing traditions about conventional topics such as the torments of the grave or the events of the Last Judgment. I have found no evidence of preachers fomenting grief over death in a way that challenges the dominant medieval Sunni theological critique against yearning to elongate one's life on earth or otherwise complaining to God about one's own death or other afflictions.

NOTES

* I wish to express my gratitude to Elina Gertsman, the editor of this book, for her helpful comments.

1. Imam Malik ibn Anas, *al-Muwattaʾ of Imam Malik*, trans. Aisha Bewley, bk. 16.12.37, <http://www.usc.edu/schools/college/crcc/engagement/resources/texts/muslim/hadith/muwatta/016.mmt.html> (hereafter: Malik ibn Anas) (accessed October 20, 2010).
2. Malik ibn Anas, bk. 12.1.1.
3. E.g., in Q 2.213: "The life of this world is made to appear attractive to those who disbelieve (*alladhina kafiru*) and they scoff at those who believe (*alladhina amanu*). But those who fear God (*alladhina ittaqu*) shall be above them on the Day of Resurrection." The verb, "they fear (*ittaqu*)" is derived from the same root as the noun, *taqwa*, and the juxtaposition of "those who believe" and "those who fear (*ittaqu*)" God achieves a near equivalence of meanings.
4. Abu l-Nasr ʿAbd Allah b. ʿAli al-Sarraj al-Tusi, *Kitab al-Lumaʾ fi l-tasawwuf* [The Book of Illumination on the Sufi Path], ed. and trans. R. A. Nicholson (Leiden: Brill, 1914).
5. al-Tusi, *Kitab al-Lumaʾ*, 23, where al-Tusi went so far as to designate this self-interested "regard [for] one's acts of devotion" and a concern for

- "seeking recompense from them" as *shirk*, a term usually meaning "unbelief" or "polytheism," and thus the theological opposite of faith in God.
6. Peri J. Bearman et al., eds., *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed. (Leiden: Brill, 1960–2005), s.v. "bakka'." (Hereafter: *EI*.)
 7. *EI*, "bakka'." F. Meier points out that precisely because tears were visible some Sufis repressed them as a means of dominating their spiritual states. For this reason medieval Sufi manuals generally do not devote a chapter to the subject of crying, but rather mention it "in passing" in the course of discussing affective states such as contrition or (*khushul*) or sadness (*huzn*).
 8. On the notion of socially defined feeling rules, see Arlie Russell Hochschild, *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling* (1983; repr., Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California, 2003), 76, quoted in Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*, 15; and Reddy, *Navigation of Feeling*.
 9. In line with the anthropological scholarship that has long recognized that weeping is not just a spontaneous physiological result of intense emotions, but rather may be deliberately provoked and performed "as part of an economy of sentiment that could influence [a deity]." On this, see Christian, "Provoked Religious Weeping," 98, 97–114, where Christian draws inspiration from Alfred Reginald Radcliffe-Brown, *The Andaman Islanders* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922), and Ernesto de Martino, *Morte e pianto rituale nel mondo antico dal lamento pagano al pianto di Maria* (Turin: Edizioni Scientifiche Einaudi, 1958). See also Patton and Stratton Hawley, *Holy Tears*; Ebersole, "Function of Ritual Weeping," 185–222.
 10. Quoted in *EI*, s.v. "bakka'."
 11. Qasim b. 'Ali al-Hariri, *Maqamat*, in *The Assemblies of al-Hariri*, vol. 1, trans. Thomas Chenery (London: Williams and Northgate, 1867); F. Stenglass, trans., *The Assemblies of al-Hariri*, vol. 2 (London: S. Low, Marston, 1898). The first example of the genre was written by Badi' al-Zaman al-Hamadhani, *The Maqamat of Badi' al-Zaman al-Hamadhani*, trans. W. J. Prendergast (London: Curzon, 1973). An Andalusi *maqama* has also recently been translated into English. See Muhammad b. Yusuf al-Saraqusti, *al-Maqamat al-luzumiyya*, trans. James T. Monroe (Leiden: Brill, 2001). On the origins and characteristics of the *maqama* genre, see *EI*, s.v. "makama"; Alfred Felix Landon Beeston, "The Genesis of the *Maqama* Genre," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 2 (1972): 1–12; 'Abd al-Fattah Kilito, "Le genre 'séance,'" *Studia Islamica* 43 (1976): 25–51; and Jaako Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama: A History of the Genre* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2002).
 12. Words to this effect appear habitually in the denouement of each episode as the narrator confronts Abu Zayd and harangues him for his obdurate deception of the people.
 13. On the gendered performance of grief and lamentation in Shi'i mourning rituals, see Lila Abu-Lughod, *Veiled Sentiments: Honor and Poetry in a Bedouin Society* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986); Kamran S. Aghaie, ed., *The Women of Karbala: Ritual Performance and Symbolic Discourses in Modern Shii Islam* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005); Ingvild Flakerud, "'Oh My Heart is Sad. It is Moharram, the Month of Zaynab.' The Role of Aesthetics and Women's Mourning Ceremonies in Shiraz," in *The Women of Karbala: Ritual Performance and Symbolic Discourses in Modern Shii Islam*, ed. Kamran S. Aghaie, 65–91 (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005); Leon E. Halevi, "Wailing for the Dead: The Role of Women in Early Islamic Funerals," *Past & Present* 183 (2004): 3–39; Dina Greenberg, "Gendered Expressions of Grief: An Islamic Continuum," *Journal of Religion and Society* 9 (2007), <http://moses.creighton.edu/JRS/2007/2007-24.html> (Accessed October 20, 2010).

14. Major collections include al-Jahiz, *Kitab al-Bayan wa-l-tabyin* [The Book of Clarity and Clarification], ed. 'Abd al-Salam Harun, 4 vols. (Cairo: Maktabat Lajnat al-Ta'lif wa-l-Tarjama wa-l-Jama'at wa-l-Nashr, 1948–1960); Ibn 'Abd al-Rabbihi, *Kitab al-'Iqd al-farid* [The Unique Pearl], ed. Ahmed Amin et al., 7 vols. (Cairo: Maktabat Lajnat al-Ta'lif wa-l-Tarjama wa-l-Jama'at wa-l-Nashr, 1948–1953).
15. Muhammad Ibn Ishaq, *The Life of Muhammad: A Translation of Ishaq's Sirat Rasul Allah*, trans. A. Guillaume (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1998).
16. Various exemplars of this genre have been translated and edited. See Abu Ishaq Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Tha'alibi, *Ara'is al-majalis fi qisas al-anbiya' or "Lives of the Prophets" as Recounted by Abu Ishaq Ahmad b. Muhammad Ibn Ibrahim al-Tha'labi*, trans. William M. Brinner (Leiden: Brill, 2002); Ibn Mutarraf al-Tarafi, *The Stories of the Prophets by Ibn Mutarrif al-Tarafi*, ed. Roberto Tottoli (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2003).
17. Especially the genres of *manaqib*, which extolled the "innate qualities, acts, and deeds" of a person; the *karamat*, which narrated the "miracles" of saints; and the *fada'il*, which lauded the "moral virtues" of holy persons, places, or things. See *EI*, s.v. "manakib."
18. E.g., the works of the Baghdadi ascetic writer Ibn Abi l-Dunya (d. 281/894), whose writings include the *Mawsu'at rasa'il* [The Complete Collection of Epistles], ed. Mustafa 'Abd al-Qadir 'Ata' et al., 5 vols. (Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Kutub al-Thaqafiyya, 1993), and *Kitab al-Wara'* [The Book of Piety], ed. Bassam 'Abd al-Wahhab al-Yabi (Limasol and Beirut: al-Jaffan and al-Jabi; Dar Ibn Hazm, 2002).
19. *EI*, s.v. "bakka'."
20. According to Meier ("al-bakka'"), the title of Abu l-Darda's treatise was *Kitab al-Riqqa wa-l-buka'* [The Book of Tenderheartedness and Crying]; however, the work appears to be lost. A treatise by the same title was written by Ibn Abi l-Dunya. See *Kitab al-Riqqa wa-l-buka'* (Beirut: Dar Ibn Hazm, 1998).
21. E.g., in the compilations of al-Jahiz and Ibn 'Abd al-Rabbihi (see note 14), and Abu l-'Abbas Muhammad al-Mubarrad (d. 287/900), *Kitab al-Kamil fi l-lugha wa-l-adab* [The Complete Book on Arabic Philology and Belles-Letters], ed. Tagarid Baydun, 2 vols. (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1987).
22. Abu l-Faraj Ibn al-Jawzi (d. 597/1200), himself an acclaimed hortatory preacher, not only quoted al-Hasan in his own homilies, he also wrote a treatise on al-Hasan's asceticism. See Abu l-Faraj Ibn al-Jawzi, *Adab al-Hasan al-Basri wa-zuhdu-hu wa-mawa'izu-hu* [The Manners of al-Hasan al-Basri, His Asceticism, and His Homiletic Exhortations], ed. S. al-Hars (Damascus: Dar al-Siddiq, 2005).
23. On Muslim travelers in the Middle Ages, see Sam I. Gellens, *Scholars and Travellers: The Social History of Early Muslim Egypt (218–487/833–1094)* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International, 1992); and Dale F. Eickelman and James L. Piscatori, eds., *Muslim Travellers: Pilgrim, Migration, and the Religious Imagination* (London: Routledge, 1990). On the transmission of ascetic literature in al-Andalus, see Juan M. Vizcaino, "Las obras de *zuhd* en al-Andalus," *Al-Qantara* 12, no. 2 (1991): 420–438.
24. Abu Bakr al-Turtushi, *Kitab al-Hawadith wa-l-bida'* (*El libro de las novedades y las innovaciones*, ed. and trans. Maribel Fierro (Madrid: CSIC, 1993)).
25. Shaykh Shu'ayb al-Hurayfish, *al-Rawd al-fa'iq fi l-mawa'iz wa-l-raqa'iq*, ed. Khalil al-Mansur (Dar al-Bayda' [?]: Dar al-Fikr, n.d.), 51–56.
26. *EI*, s.v. "bakka'." Many weepers are identified in the massive work by the Sufi Abu Nu'aym al-Isfahani (d. 430/1038), *Hilyat al-awliya' wa-tabaqat al-asfiya'* [The Ornament of the Saints and the Classes of the Spiritually Pure], ed. Abu

Hajar Zaghlul, 11 vols. (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1986); and Ibn Arabi, *Los sufis de Andalucía*, trans. David García Valverde (Malaga: Editorial Sirio, 1990), a Spanish translation of two works by the thirteenth-century Andalusí Sufi Ibn 'Arabi, *Ruh al-quds fi munashabat al-nafs* [The Spirit of the Holy which Guides the Soul] and *Durrat al-fakhira fi dhikr man intafa' tu bi-hi fi tariq al-akhira* [The Precious Pearl which Narrates the Tales of Those Who Helped Me on the Path to the Afterlife].

27. On the *Harafish*, see William M. Brinner, "The Significance of the *Harafish* and Their *Sultan*," *JESHO* 6, no. 2 (July 1963): 190–215; Jonathan P. Berkey, *Popular Preaching and Religious Authority in the Medieval Islamic Middle East* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2001), 18. For the biography of Shu'ayb al-Hurayfish, see Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalani, *Inba' al-ghumr bi-abna' al-'umr* [The Abundance of News of the Sons of the Age], 9 vols. (Hyderabad: Da'irat al-Ma'arif al-'Uthmaniyya, 1975), 4:63.
28. On the distinctions between the two genres of preaching, see Johannes Pedersen, "The Islamic Preacher," in *Ignace Goldziher Memorial Volume*, ed. Samuel Lowinger and Joseph Somogyi (Budapest: Globus, 1948), 1:226–251; Johannes Pedersen, "The Criticism of the Islamic Preacher," *Die Welt des Islams* 2 (1953): 215–231; *EI*, s.v. "khatib"; Berkey, *Popular Preaching*; Merlin L. Swartz, "Arabic Rhetoric and the Art of the Homily in Medieval Islam," in *Religion and Culture in Medieval Islam*, ed. R. G. Hovannisian and G. Sabagh, 39–65 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Linda G. Jones, "Witnesses of God: Exhortatory Preachers in Medieval al-Andalus and the Maghreb," *Al-Qantara* 28, no. 1 (January–July 2007): 73–100.
29. al-Hurayfish, *al-Rawd al-fa'iq*, 32–36.
30. There is a long tradition in Sunni Islamic jurisprudence of denouncing religious innovations (*bida'*) that departed from the established principles of the law (*usul al-fiqh*), which were based upon the Qur'an, the Hadith, and the orthopraxy of the early Islamic community. On the debates over how *bida'* was to be defined or which practices were considered innovations, see M. Talbi, "Les *bida'*," *Studia Islamica* 12 (1960): 43–77; Muhammad Ibn Waddah al-Qurtubi (Cordoba, d. 900), *Kitab al-bida'* (*Tratado contra las innovaciones*), ed. and trans. Maribel Fierro (Madrid: CSIC, 1998); and al-Turtushi, *al-Hawadith wa-l-bida'*.
31. See the discussion that follows on liturgical preachers who provoked penitential weeping in their audiences.
32. al-Hurayfish, *al-Rawd al-fa'iq*, 51.
33. On this concept see *EI*, s.v. "al-wa'd wa l-wa'id."
34. *Ibid.*
35. Gloria Cigman, "The Preacher as Performer: Lollard Sermons as Imaginative Discourse," *Literature and Theology* 2, no. 1 (1988): 69–82; Stephen Murray, *A Gothic Sermon: Making a Contract with the Mother of God, Saint Mary of Amiens* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2004); Kimberly Rivers, *Preaching the Memory of Virtues and Vice: Memories, Images, and Preaching in the Late Middle Ages*, vol. 4, *Sermo* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010).
36. al-Hurayfish, *al-Rawd al-fa'iq*, 52.
37. *Ibid.*
38. *Ibid.* The verse is not found in the Qur'an and its origin is unclear.
39. See, for instance, the traditions preserved in the hadith compendia of Malik ibn Anas, bk. 21; *Sahih al-Bukhari*, bk. 21, <http://www.usc.edu/schools/college/crcc/engagement/resources/texts/muslim/hadith/bukhari/052.sbt.html> (hereafter: *Sahih al-Bukhari*), which are devoted to the subject of jihad and its spiritual rewards.

40. According to a hadith recorded only in the *Sunan* of Abu Dawud, the Prophet said, "There are seven types of martyrdom in addition to being killed in Allah's cause: one who dies of plague is a martyr; one who is drowned is a martyr; one who dies of pleurisy is a martyr; one who dies of an internal complaint is a martyr; one who is burnt to death is a martyr; who one is killed by a building falling on him is a martyr; and a woman who dies while pregnant is a martyr." See *Sunan of Abu Dawud*, bk. 20.3105, <http://www.ucs.edu/schools/college/crcc/engagement/resources/texts/muslim/hadith/abudawud/020.sat.html> (Accessed October 20, 2010).
41. Malik ibn Anas, bk. 51.5.14; *Sahih Muslim*, chap. 28, 5.2248.
42. al-Hurayfish, *al-Rawd al-fa'*, 53.
43. Ibid., 52. Although al-Hurayfish does not cite his sources, they most likely come from the extra-qur'anic "tales of the prophets" genre. In addition to the texts by al-Tha'alibi and al-Tarafi (note 16) other important works include Ibn Kathir, *Qisas al-anbiya'*, 7 vols. (Beirut: Dar Nablus, 2007); Sahl b. 'Abd Allah al-Tustari, *Lata'if qisas al-anbiya'*, *'alayhim al-salam* [The Attributes of the Stories of the Prophets, Peace Be upon Them], ed. Kamal 'Allam (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 2004).
44. For example, apart from the stories cited on page 52, a much lengthier version of the story of David's tearful repentance is found on page 53; an embellished version of the story of Adam (page 55) recounts that his tears, which ran down Jabal al-Hind, turned into the waters surrounding Sarnadib (Sri Lanka). On the stories of David, see also Kees Wagtendonk, *The Stories of David in Tha'alibi's "Qisas al-anbiya'",* in *La signification du Bas Moyen Âge dans l'histoire et la culture du monde musulman: actes du 8me Congrès de l'Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants: Aix-en-Provence—Septembre 1976* (Aix-en-Provence: Edisud, 1978), 343–352.
45. al-Hurayfish, *al-Rawd al-fa'iq*, 55. Although the identity of this person is disputed by scholars, he must have been an early ascetic or sage, as he is quoted by Abu Hamid al-Ghazali (d. 505/1111) in the "Book of Knowledge (*Kitab al-'Ilm*)" of his *magnus opus*, *Ihya 'ulum al-din* (The Revivification of the Sciences) (Damascus: Dar al-Fikr, 1986).
46. al-Hurayfish, *al-Rawd al-fa'iq*, 53. I have not been able to identify this person.
47. Ibid.
48. Ibid.
49. In Islamic mysticism "prolonged hope (*tul al-amal*)" means yearning for a long life and with it, an exaggerated concern for worldly gain. The Prophet Muhammad warned of the dangers of "prolonged hope" because it made one forget about the afterlife. See Franz Rosenthal, *Sweeter than Hope: Complaint and Hope in Medieval Islam* (Leiden: Brill, 1983), 139.
50. *Sahih al-Bukhari*, bk. 23.375.
51. Ibid., bk. 23.377–380. On the proscription of funeral wailing in early Islam, see Leor Halevi, *Muhammad's Grave: Death Rites and the Making of Islamic Society* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 114–142.
52. *Sahih al-Bukhari*, bk. 23.382. A number of scholars have emphasized the gendered component of mournful weeping, ascribing it principally to women. In addition to those cited in note 13, see Pieter Smoor, "Death, the Elusive Thief: The Classical Arabic Elegy," in *Hidden Futures: Death and Immortality in Ancient Egypt, Anatolia, the Classical, Biblical, and Arabic-Islamic World*, ed. Jan Maarten Bremer, Theo P. J. van der Hout, and Rudolph Peters, 151–176 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1994). However, the hadith in question makes no reference to the gender of the mourners, nor do the traditions cited in the previous footnote.

53. al-Hurayfish, *al-Rawd al-fa'iq*, 53.
54. This exclusion is surely no accident. Shu'ayb is the only of the pre-Islamic prophets mentioned in this sermon who cannot be identified in Hebrew or Christian scripture. Muslim exegetes believed that the Prophet Shu'ayb came after Lot and was sent to the town of Madyan in Arabia. See *EI*, s.v. "Shu'ayb." One cannot exclude the possibility, given the picaresque reputation of the *harafish*, that al-Hurayfish distinguished the Prophet Shu'ayb in this way because he was his namesake.
55. Uri Rubin, *The Eye of the Beholder: The Life of Muhammad as Viewed by Early Muslims* (Princeton, NJ: Darwin Press, 1995); David S. Powers, *Muhammad Is Not the Father of Any of Your Men: The Making of the Last Prophet* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009); Gordon D. Newby, *The Making of the Last Prophet: A Reconstruction of the Earliest Biography of Muhammad* (1989; repr., Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2009).
56. al-Hurayfish, *al-Rawd al-fa'iq*, 52.
57. Abu-Lughod, *Veiled Sentiments*, 198; Mohamed Abdessalem, *Le thème de la mort dans la poésie arabe des origines à la fin du III^e/IX^e siècle* (Tunis: Université de Tunis, 1977), 98–99.
58. al-Hurayfish, *al-Rawd al-fa'iq*, 54.
59. al-Jahiz, *Kitab al-Bayan wa-l-tabyin*, 2:118–119. See also Swartz, "Arabic Rhetoric," 45–47.
60. al-Hariri, *Maqamat*, 1:13, 110–111, 162–163, 173–175, among many others.
61. al-Hurayfish, *al-Rawd al-fa'iq*, 55. Wahb b. Munabbih was the author of a collection of *Qisas al-anbiya'* or "Stories of the prophets," and a *Kitab al-Isra'iliyyat*, or "Book of Israelite Matters"), referring to the legends based on Jewish and Christian scripture that furnished Muslim exegetes, Sufi mystics, as well as preachers with material for their writings. Both works are lost.
62. Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Rahman al-Sakhawi, *al-Daw' al-lami' li-abli l-qarn al-tasi'* [*The Shining Light on the People of the Ninth Century*], 12 vols. (Beirut: Dar Maktaba al-Hayat, 1966), 5:20, quoted in Asqalani, *Anba' al-ghumr bi-abna' al-'umr*, 4:63 n. 1. Of interest is al-Sakhawi's comment that the *harafish* could be identified by a distinctive garb that Shu'ayb al-Hurayfish wore as well: "He wore a robe like the robe of the al-Hurayfish (*labasa thayab ka-thayab al-Hurayfish*)."
63. Merlin L. Swartz, "The Rules of the Popular Preacher in Twelfth-Century Baghdad, According to Ibn al-Jawzi, in *Prédication et propagande au Moyen Âge, Islam, Byzance, Occident*," eds. George Makdisi, Dominique Sourdél, and Janine Sourdél-Thomine, 234 (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1983).
64. Swartz, "Rules of the Popular Preacher," 234.
65. Ibn al-Jawzi, *Kitab al-Qussas w'al-mudhakkirin* [The Book of Storytellers and Popular Preachers], ed. and trans. Merlin L. Swartz (Beirut: Dar al-Machreq, 1971), 224.
66. Ibn al-Jawzi, *Kitab al-Qussas*, 99.
67. On the various biographical and autobiographical genres, see Paul Auchterlonie, *Arabic Biographical Dictionaries: A Summary Guide and Bibliography* (Durham, NC: Middle East Libraries Committee, 1987); Dwight F. Reynolds et al., eds., *Interpreting the Self: Autobiography in the Arabic Literary Tradition* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2001); and Michael Cooperson, *Classical Arabic Biography: The Heirs of the Prophets in the Age of al-Ma'mun* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

68. Ibn Abi Zar', *al-Anis al-mutrib bi-rawd al-qirtas fi akhbar muluk al-Maghrib wa-ta'rikh madinat Fas* [The Entertaining Companion Book on the Garden of Pages from the Chronicle of the Kings of the Maghreb and the History of Fez] (Beirut: Dar al-Mansur li-l-Tiba'a, 1972); Ibn Abi Zar', *Rawd al-qirtas*, trans. Ambosio Huici Miranda, 2 vols. (Valencia: J. Nacher, 1964; hereafter: Huici Miranda).
69. Ibn Abi Zar', *Rawd al-qirtas*, 72; Huici Miranda, 1:139.
70. Ibid.
71. Ibid.
72. Ibid.
73. Ibid.
74. As is seen in spiritual biographies such as Ibn Arabi, *Los sufis de Andalucía*, cited in note 26.
75. Ibn Jubayr, *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr. Edited from a MS. in the University Library of Leyden*, 2nd ed., ed. William Wright and Michael Jan de Goeje (Leiden: Brill, 1907), 319–320. See also Merlin L. Swartz's extensive treatment of Ibn al-Jawzi's preaching based upon Ibn Jubayr's description in Swartz, "Rules of the Popular Preacher." Ibn Jubayr noted as well that the audience burst into tears upon listening to the chorus of qur'anic recitation that took place immediately prior to the sermon, as well as to Ibn al-Jawzi's own scriptural recitation.
76. Ibn Abi Zar', *Rawd al-qirtas*, 73; Huici Miranda, 1:140.
77. Ibn al-Abbar, *al-Takmila li-Kitab al-Sila*, ed. 'Abd al-Sallam al-Harras, 4 vols. (Dar al-Bayda': Dar al-Fikr, 1996), 3:23.
78. Ibn Abi Zar', *Rawd al-qirtas*, 73.
79. On the problem of emotional authenticity, see Mikko Salmeda and Verena Mayer, eds., *Emotions, Ethics, and Authenticity* (Philadelphia and Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Co., 2009).
80. Ibn al-Hajj, *Madkhal al-shar' al-sharif*, 4 vols. (1960; repr., Cairo: Dar al-Fikr, 1981).
81. Ibn al-'Attar, *Adab al-khatib*, ed. M. b. Hussayn al-Sulaymani (Beirut: Dar al-Gharb al-Islami, 1996).
82. Ibn al-Hajj's *Madkhal al-shar' al-sharif* belongs to this genre of juridical literature. For the treatises written by Andalusī jurists Ibn Waddah al-Qurtubi and Abu Bakr al-Turtushi, see notes 24 and 30. The Egyptian Ibn al-Hajj quoted extensively from al-Turtushi's treatise.
83. Ibn al-'Attar, *Adab al-khatib*, 122.
84. Ibn al-Hajj, *Madkhal al-shar' al-sharif*, 2:16.
85. Ibid.
86. Ibn al-'Attar, *Adab al-khatib*, 122.
87. *Sahih al-Bukhari*, bk. 2.36.
88. Ibid., bk. 24. 496. See also the hadith cited in note 87.
89. Ibn al-'Attar, *Adab al-khatib*, 117: "The *sunna* of [pronouncing the blessing on the Prophet in the *khutba*] generally demands secrecy, not showiness or ostentation (*al-sunna fi-ha al-israr duna l-jahr bi-ha ghaliban*).” Cf. Ibn al-Hajj, *Madkhal al-shar' al-sharif*, 2:268, 269.
90. Ibn al-'Attar, *Adab al-khatib*, 103; Ibn al-Hajj, *Madkhal al-shar' al-sharif*, 2:485; *Sahih al-Bukhari*, bk. 4, nos. 1846–1848 and bk. 4, nos. 1867–1868.
91. Ibn al-'Attar, *Adab al-khatib*, 122.
92. Ibn al-Jawzi's scathing attack against preachers who narrated apocryphal traditions, whether willfully or out of ignorance, sometimes bordered on ridicule, as in the following account: "Abu Ka'b said the following in the process of his storytelling one day: 'The name of the wolf which slew Joseph was so and so.' However, [the people in the assembly] replied: 'The wolf

- never slew Joseph!' He responded: '[I mean] the name of the wolf which did not slay Joseph'" (Ibn al-Jawzi, *Kitab al-Qussas*, 181–196).
93. Hochschild, *Managed Heart*, 76; Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*, 15.
 94. See Linda G. Jones, "*The Good Eloquent Speaker*": *Preaching, Power, and Identity in Medieval Iberia* (forthcoming, New York: Cambridge University Press).
 95. On the life and biobibliography of Ibn al-Jawzi, see *EI*, s.v. "Ibn al-Djawzi, 'Abd al-Rahman b. 'Ali b. Muhammad Abu l-Farash b. al-Djawzi"; and Merlin L. Swartz's introduction in Ibn al-Jawzi, *Kitab al-Qussas*, 1–94.
 96. Ibn al-Jawzi, *Kitab al-Qussas*, 171.
 97. *Ibid.*
 98. *Ibid.*
 99. *Ibid.*, 173.
 100. *Ibid.*, 171.
 101. *Ibid.*, 207.
 102. *Ibid.*, 174–175.
 103. *Ibid.*, 110.
 104. Abu l-'Abbas Ahmad al-Maqqari, *Nafh al-tib min ghusn al-Andalus al-ratib wa-dhikr waziri-ha Lisan al-Din Ibn al-Khatib* [The Fragrant Odor of the Green Branch of al-Andalus and the Story of Its Minister, Lisan al-Din Ibn al-Khatib], ed. Ihsan 'Abbas, 8 vols. (Beirut: Dar al- Sadr, 1968), 1:572.
 105. *Ibid.*, 1:571.
 106. *Ibid.*
 107. For a brief description and analysis of the rogation ceremony, see *EI*, s.v. "khutba" and "istisqa'."
 108. According to al-Bukhari, "[Pious] works are only rendered efficacious through their intentions"; quoted in *EI*, s.v. "niyya." See also Joseph Schacht, *Introduction to Islamic Law* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 116–118; *EI*, s.v. "ikhlas" and "sidk."
 109. On this point I dissent with Ebersole, "Function of Ritual Weeping," 209.
 110. *EI*, s.v. "istisqa'."
 111. al-Maqqari, *Nafh al-tib min ghusn al-Andalus*, 1:572.
 112. *Ibid.*
 113. *Ibid.*, 1:571.
 114. *Ibid.*, 1:573.
 115. *Ibid.*, 1:572.
 116. Ebersole, "Function of Ritual Weeping," 209.
 117. al-Maqqari, *Nafh al-tib min ghusn al-Andalus*, 1:572.
 118. *EI*, s.v. "istiska"; M. Gaudetroy Demombynes, *Muslim Institutions* (1968; repr., London: Allen and Unwin, 2007), 81.
 119. Ibn al-Hajj, *Madkhal al-shar' al-sharif*, 2:269.
 120. Ibn al-'Attar, *Adab al-khatib*, 122.
 121. See note 11.

7 *Si puose calcina a' propi occhi*

The Importance of the Gift of Tears for Thirteenth-Century Religious Women and their Hagiographers

Kimberley-Joy Knight

The Franciscan hagiographer Vito da Cortona recorded in his *vita* of a Florentine holy woman Umiliana de' Cerchi (1219–1246) that one day she was deeply troubled as she had had her ability to weep taken away:

But God wanted to reveal her fervor and did not give himself, whom she awaited with such longing, to her so quickly; rather he showed her a certain hardness, for she was unable to weep at her devotions. She could not bear this and applied quicklime to her own eyes, so that she thought that she had blinded herself. She did this so that God, moved by pity, would grant her pious tears, and, well knowing herself, feared that this had happened because of the vice of her eyes. And because she sometimes lamented the death of her kin, she vowed to God that she would never weep in future unless because of the memory of her own sins or because of the grace of God or the Passion of the Lord. After a few days, God poured out on her such a great grace of tears that they seemed not tears but rivers.¹

Umiliana's dramatic reaction at being unable to weep during her devotions draws attention to the importance of *gratia lacrymarum*, a Gift of Tears granted by divine will, descriptions of which can be found in numerous *vitae* and the canonization processes of Mendicant men and women in the thirteenth century.² The grace, which had long been the devotional preserve of those within monastic circles, came to assume a central position in the spirituality of this period as it diffused from the cloister.³ An irrepressible gift, often achieved by meditating on the Passion of Christ, it rendered the recipient almost incapacitated through floods of tears. The tears reflected one of the highest degrees of perfection as the soul reached union with God and had a foretaste of the beatific vision. In turn, the reception of tears was an important physical sign of divine will operating within a holy person, reflecting sincere devotion, which also had connotations of spiritual cleansing. Recipients are recorded to have been overflowing or flooded with God's grace as it poured into them as if it were liquid. The tears that

spilled out from their eyes signified the spiritual fulfillment of contact with the ineffable. This union with God was an ultimate and prized connection, giving a foretaste of heaven on earth.

Yet, in this passage Umiliana is recorded as being unable to achieve union with God; moreover, she reads her inability to weep as an estrangement from the divine. Indeed, the artificial manner in which she then induced tears and her temporary blindness might be read as transgressive, as the Gift of Tears could only be divinely endowed. This chapter will examine the act of applying quicklime to the eyes in light of the other lachrymose activity recorded in Vito da Cortona's text, and suggest that the notion of seeing and not seeing, intrinsically linked to the tears that Umiliana sheds, is central to her *vita*. In particular, this case study aims to propose that tears were an important physical, ocular manifestation of grace for religious women of the thirteenth century.

A BRIEF HISTORIOGRAPHY

Religious tears have been read in many different ways by previous scholars. Prior to Piroska Nagy's groundbreaking volume, *Le Don des Larmes au Moyen Âge*, published a decade ago, tears were often an auxiliary theme in the pursuit of other interests such as penitence or prayer. Already in the 1930s there was substantial academic interest in the study of tears, but early scholarship placed much more emphasis on Eastern Christianity as the seat of this grace. A French journal, *Vie Spirituelle*, published a series of articles by Ambrose Gardeil, Pie-Raymond Régamey, and Henry Bars on the biblical and patristic origins of tears as well as on the question of their interiority, while Joseph de Guibert wrote, for the *Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique*, an essay surveying spiritual writings on tears from Cassian to Thomas à Kempis.⁴ Within the same decade, two pioneering studies of tears in Eastern Christianity were undertaken by Myrrha Lot-Borodine and Irénée Hausherr.⁵ Lot-Borodine outlined the role of the Gift of Tears in spiritual perfection, suggesting that it was understood not only as simple compunction but also an indication of the transformation of the soul. This transformation was a sign of the Holy Spirit, and so the Gift was seen as a *charism*: a mystical phenomenon, whereupon the soul was transfigured by drinking in unspeakable joy. Hausherr expanded upon Lot-Borodine's work in a full-length volume devoted to *penthos*, a spiritual mourning attributed to God. Unending happiness could only be achieved through *penthos*, which began at the moment when the heart was pierced (known as compunction in the West). Using a range of sources, Hausherr noted a continuity of doctrine from the birth of Christianity to the eleventh century: *penthos* was mourning for lost salvation, whether one's own or that of others, and could not exist without tears.⁶

Exploration of the Western sources, on the scale of these exceptional works, remained absent until Nagy's volume. Although already in 1938 Basilius Steidle, by pointing out that tears were not a mystical phenomenon peculiar to the early Church, had recognized that the study of tears had a place in Western Christianity, his remained a lone voice.⁷ A period of quiet followed until Heinz Gerd Weinand's examination of the subject in German literature (1958) and Jean-Charles Payen's volume on penitence in 1967.⁸ While these books acknowledged the importance of tears in Western Christianity, Weinand's literary study served more to categorize the types of tears rather than to engage in an analysis, and Payen wrote of tears only when they related to his discussion of the doctrine of contrition. Two of the most useful observations on tears finally came in the late 1970s in the form of Marie-Humbert Vicaire's examination of Dominican prayer and an entry by Pierre Adnés in the *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, which provides a balanced commentary of tears in both the East and West.⁹ Vicaire used Gerard Frachet's *Vitae Fratrum Ordinis Praedicatorum* (1260) to suggest that tears held a significant place within solitary prayer, noting how the Eastern concept of *hesychasm* influenced Dominican thought and transmitted the idea of the Gift of Tears as a grace given by God.

More recently, in his study of Bernard of Clairvaux, Brian Patrick McGuire devoted a chapter to tears shed by monks in the context of human attachment.¹⁰ While the author recognizes the place of spiritual tears in the religious vocation, he argues that the eleventh century saw a new period of sentimentality, and that it was now possible for monks to shed tears in personal situations, such as the loss of a loved one. McGuire discusses, for example, John of Fécamp's recollection of the tears that Jesus shed at the death of Lazarus, seeing it as a means of legitimizing "human" tears, and St. Bernard of Clairvaux's use of a sermon on the Song of Songs to defend his right to weep upon the death of a fellow brother. Although Bernard was careful to distinguish between his own loss and the brother's gain in heaven, McGuire postulates that the message of his sermon was that tears shed for human loss could become an expression of faith, hope and love.¹¹

Published in the same year, Sandra McEntire's monograph outlines the doctrine of compunction, tracing its beginning in the East between the fifth and sixth centuries followed by two periods of renaissance (in the seventh to ninth and eleventh centuries) before its monastic flowering in the twelfth century and eventual diffusion beyond the cloister in the thirteenth.¹² McEntire then demonstrates the continuity of patristic understandings of tears within an English context by reference to *Piers Plowman*. While following an interesting course, McEntire's study might have benefitted from taking in a smaller range of sources and focusing on the changes in the doctrine of compunction rather than any overall continuity. It was this lack of in-depth analysis of the evolution and changes in meaning of tears that Piroska Nagy sought to redress in her seminal volume.

By far the most substantial work on the subject to date, Nagy's comprehensive account of *Le don des larmes au Moyen Âge* in many ways bridges the gaps left by previous authors. It places tears in their historical context by examining their religious and intellectual environment, by documenting their transformation, and by bringing together doctrinal analyses, spiritual texts, and religious practice. Nagy's study thus traces the history of *gratia lacrymarum* from its inception to its apogee in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. After this point, Nagy suggests, the concept of the Gift of Tears lost its real significance. Although her study presents a comprehensive picture of the earlier development of the Gift of Tears, her discussion of the thirteenth century, and subsequently of gender-inflected devotional practice, is therefore more limited.¹³ Yet, when tears moved out of the confines of the cloister and were no longer the preserve of the male spiritual elite, they became a quintessential feature of both male and female devotion.

WEeping WOMEN

In the eyes of holy women and of their hagiographers, tears were a defining trait of sanctity, to be treated with special reverence and desired with great longing. Hagiographies of religious women from the Lowlands, France, and Italy in the thirteenth century illustrate the significance of weeping in their lives.¹⁴ Tears shed for one's own sins or the sins of others and the tears that often accompanied prayer might be classified as a *habitus*, a practice or disposition to weeping.¹⁵ Conversely, *gratia lacrymarum*, characterized by Lot-Borodine and Nagy as a *charism*, was one of the highest degrees of perfection when the soul had reached an ecstatic union with God, momentarily tasting the joy of the heavens. This *charism* was miraculous, a physical imprint of God's presence akin to the stigmata. As women had a limited number of outlets through which they might express their holiness, a special emphasis was placed on bodily devotions and religious experiences.¹⁶ The desire to attain *gratia lacrymarum* was thus strongly felt among women. This is not to suggest that the Gift of Tears was less important to religious men, but tears do take a less prominent place in male *vitae* in comparison to their female counterparts: men had a fuller program of saintly activity to fulfill. The Gift of Tears was one way of communicating this holiness and as such was a mode of nonverbal expression that "spoke" when women could not. Although the reception of the Gift was interior, proof that union had been achieved was exterior and visible. The Viennese Beguine Agnes Blannbekin (d. 1315), for instance, implored the Lord through frequent prayer and intercession that she might receive a sign of God's grace in the form of the Gift of Tears:

She also added in her prayer, "Oh Lord, if you would deign to receive my prayers as you have promised me through your word, give me also

this as a sign that tomorrow, that is the day of your passion and death, I will be able to physically suffer and endure much without failing, and that at all hours of the day, that is the seven canonical hours, you will give me the flow and grace of tears.” This was completely fulfilled in her. For the following two nights she spent as if sleepless, sitting up with difficulty, swaying a little. And on the day of the Lord’s passion, she received a thousand blows by flagellating herself with a juniper branch. She covered herself thoroughly in blood, because that branch was so rough, and she did not beat herself lightly. She also said that she endured sweetly (i.e., in good spirits). And (while) fasting during Easter, she barely ate as much as two morsels of bread, and nonetheless did not grow tired, as she had desired. Also, at Matins and when she read the other hours, such an abundance of tears was given to her by the Lord that at times, she completed the hours only with difficulty because of her tears.¹⁷

Not only did women entreat God for the Gift of Tears for themselves, but they could also act as intercessors, securing the grace for others. In the Cistercian Caesarius of Heisterbach’s *Dialogus miraculorum* (ca. 1220–1235), which is constructed as an exchange between a monk and a novice, a Beguine acts as an intercessor in granting the Gift of Tears to a monk who pleaded for her assistance.¹⁸ The importance of the Gift of Tears for holy women is thus underscored both by their active desire to secure it and by their perceived position as intercessors.¹⁹ Furthermore, the tears of holy women were revered. Those of Dauphine of Puimichel (ca. 1284–1361), a high-born religious woman from Provence who led the life of a Franciscan tertiary, and those of the Beguine Marie d’Oignies (d.1213) were collected as relics owing to their power as droplets of the divine.²⁰ Umiliana’s awareness of the physical importance of tears, that they were expected and revered by others, thus undoubtedly led her to applying quicklime to her eyes after her own Gift of Tears was taken away.

THE LIFE OF UMIANA DE’CERCHI AND THE INITIAL GIFT OF TEARS

Umiliana de’Cerchi was the daughter of a wealthy Florentine merchant.²¹ Vito da Cortona, her contemporary, was commissioned to compile her *vita* by the Franciscans of Santa Croce in Florence around 1246 in recognition of Umiliana’s holy life.²² The *vita* does not begin with a conventional description of holy childhood, but with Umiliana’s marriage alliance in 1236 at the age of sixteen.²³ During the early years of her marriage, and, despite her husband’s displeasure, Umiliana spent most of her time engaged in eleemosynary activity, secretly preparing food for the poor during the night and tearing strips off her own clothes to give to lepers (an activity that

her hagiographer is careful to parallel with that of St. Martin).²⁴ The death of Umiliana's husband after five years of marriage allowed her to bring these activities to the fore, begin a life married to Christ, and thus forge a path as a proto-tertiary.²⁵ Although Umiliana's father attempted to marry her off again and later defrauded her of her dowry, Umiliana's sudden poverty lent itself to the Mendicant ideals that she had carried out in secret.²⁶ Denied a place at the local house of the Damianites (later known as poor Clares), Santa Maria of Monticello in the Arno valley, Umiliana lived out her spiritual desires in the tower of one of her family's properties in central Florence.²⁷ Vito stresses that God had other plans for Umiliana and this was the reason that he did not permit her to join the monastic community.²⁸ In the unlikely solitude of her father's tower, compared to that of the Desert Fathers by her hagiographer, Umiliana carried out her devotional practices, including fasting and sleep deprivation—activities that fit within the usual parameters of activities of a religious woman.²⁹ These deeds were not undertaken without a struggle. Not only was Umiliana pestered by her brothers whilst living in her tower, but she was also threatened and beaten for spending too much time at holy sites with her sister-in-law.³⁰

Umiliana's lachrymose activities emerge near the beginning of her *vita*, when Vito details how she ordered her life. The first episode that illustrates her ability to shed copious tears is given when Vito stresses the validity of her life in comparison to that of the holy hermits and the sisters at San Damiano (the mother-house of the order founded by Clare of Assisi):

What did she lack of the monastic life, who lived in such continuous silence and observance? What less did she possess than the holy hermits, who found for herself a solitude in the midst of the city and converted her bedchamber into a prison cell? What austerities did she sustain less than the sisters of San Damiano, exercising such a sobriety in food and drink? Refreshed by little sleep, she spent the whole night in prayer; and what grace was poured out upon her, they can say who saw it, insofar as they were able to perceive it. With what tears she flooded her cheeks and breast, which seemed not tears but streams flowing from her eyes!³¹

Tears were a sincere form of devotion and granted legitimacy to Umiliana's chosen way of life. For Umiliana, whose lifestyle choice was newly emerging, such a pure observance added credit to her devotional practices and helped to shield her against accusations of heresy. The Cathars were flourishing in Florence around the time that Umiliana turned to a quasi-Mendicant way of life. Her rejection of a second marriage and material wealth were not only features of the Franciscan lifestyle, but also traits of the Cathar faith. The Cathars recruited many Florentine Patrician women by offering a spirituality that was remarkably similar to Mendicancy.³² In the 1240s there was intense antagonism between

the Franciscans and Cathars in Florence. It is surely out of this opposition that the Franciscans sought to emphasize Umiliana's holiness with authentic signs of divine grace.³³

The first description of Umiliana's Gift of Tears is thus used as verification of her way of life. Umiliana's superabundant grace sets her apart, placing her firmly in the realm of those who have been chosen by God to receive his grace. Tears literally flood (*perfundere*) Umiliana's cheeks and breast and are likened to streams (*rivuli*). The imagery of the body being flooded by tears highlights another important characteristic associated with the grace: that tears were not just a sign of holiness but also of purification. In his Catechetical Discourses, for example, the Byzantine Symeon the New Theologian (949–1022) had written that “[w]ithout water, it is impossible to wash a dirty garment clean and without tears it is even more impossible to wash and cleanse the soul from pollution and stains.”³⁴ The role of tears as a visible cleanser was particularly important for religious women. Tears symbolized purification and operated as a kind of second baptism.³⁵ For Umiliana, who had previously been married and given birth to children, these cleansing tears were a kind of spiritual rebirth that washed away the stains of a worldly life. In this first episode recounting Umiliana's tears, Vito consciously connects the beginning of her spiritual journey with tears that may be read both as God's grace and as a symbol of purification and a departure from the world. Umiliana's tears not only drenched her face, but trickled down her body, symbolizing such purification. Umiliana's body became a canvas, conveying a message about her holiness to others.

It is shortly after this ardent justification of Umiliana's way of life that Vito recounts the quicklime incident. The episodes of crying and not crying are neatly juxtaposed, emphasizing the removal of the ability to weep and the desperation behind Umiliana's actions to regain this ability. Indeed, her hagiographer notes that in applying the alkaline and trying to provoke tears along with God's pity, Umiliana almost succeeded in blinding herself.

THE QUICKLIME EPISODE

There was a social gender expectation regarding tears: more specifically, the role of mourning for dead family members was often assigned to women in a household.³⁶ This responsibility was a logical one as women were thought to be more susceptible to weeping. The Franciscan Anthony of Padua (ca. 1195–1231), for example, wrote that “women feel compassion more intensely than men, are quicker to tears, and have more tenacious memories.”³⁷ The transition between secular and religious life was thus challenging for Umiliana with respect to her familial and social role as a mourner. The struggle to leave behind the position of mourner reoccurs throughout her *vita* and comes to the fore during the quicklime incident, when Umiliana admits that “she sometimes lamented the death of her kin.”

It is this lamentation that leads to the loss of grace and to the disappearance of her Gift. When Umiliana finds herself incapable of weeping during her devotions, she, unable to withstand this estrangement from God, applies quicklime to her eyes in order to induce tears. Vito records that she did this to move God to pity so that she would regain the grace. Vowing that she would never weep in worldly lamentation again, after a few days Umiliana was able to shed an effusion of tears.³⁸

The imposition of a harsh physical torment in order to induce tears might, at first, be seen as a transgressive act, given that the grace of weeping was supposed to be sincere and God-given. Umiliana's behavior might be read as a deceitful attempt to persuade those around her of her holiness and as an expression of vainglory. Indeed, in Caesarius's *Dialogus miraculorum*, vainglory is named as one of the reasons that God might revoke the Gift of Tears:

(Monk): Once the Lord who is no tempter of the wicked, took away from him [a monk named Christian] the grace of tears, which he had bountifully bestowed on him, and this was a sore trial. (Novice): Before you go further, I should like to know why God takes away graces of this kind from holy men. (Monk): That withdrawal seems to me to have four causes: first, that the grace may not be cheapened by uninterrupted continuity; second, that the heart may not be lifted up by pride in its enjoyment; third, that it may be sought with greater eagerness, and may be cherished more diligently when regained; and the fourth cause is venial sin.³⁹

The hagiographer's treatment of the episode in Umiliana's *vita*, however, deflects any sense that she was acting in an improper manner. Vito neutralizes the quicklime incident in several subtle ways. From the outset of the incident, Vito states that "God wanted to reveal her fervor" and for this reason "did not give himself" to her in the grace of tears.⁴⁰ It is carefully implied that it is God's desire to reveal Umiliana's zeal, and not her hubris, that led her into using the quicklime. Applying alkaline into her eyes is thus construed not as a recalcitrant act but an imitation of the grace and a sign of particular reverence for it. The resultant tears are a personally manipulated form of physical devotion whereby Umiliana elevates her soul by temporarily causing suffering and blinding to her body, so as to shut out the outside world and to stimulate union with Lord, in the hope of regaining the true Gift. The consequence of this momentary blinding, as noted earlier, was that the eye of the heart was open to seeing God whilst her bodily eyes were dimmed.

Furthermore, Vito informs the reader that Umiliana undertook this action so that God would be "moved to pity." For the hagiographer, God's act in temporarily withholding the grace thus shows "a certain hardness." The desperate Umiliana is thereby brought into focus as she acts in response

to God's hardness and desire to see her fervor. This suffering is reiterated in the delay of a few days until she finally receives the grace. This need to wait for the Gift of Tears emphasizes its special nature; these tears are to be sought and cherished rather than expected and taken for granted.

The hagiographer continues to defuse the potentially wayward nature of the quicklime incident when taking into account why it was that Umiliana had her grace withdrawn. Vito is quick to point out that Umiliana knew that she had shed tears in an improper manner and would never do so again. Umiliana has a self-conscious understanding of her *vitium oculorum* and thus has already begun to recognize the consequences of her action in mourning. Vito thereby turns another potentially transgressive act into a model saintly struggle, a common trope in hagiographic texts, whereby a saint must overcome various obstacles along the pathway to perfection.⁴¹ Worldly impediments blocking the route to spiritual excellence are omnipresent in Umiliana's *vita*: as noted earlier, she was harassed by her brothers and beaten for spending too much time at holy sites.⁴² The revocation of the Gift of Tears is to be read as a spiritual trial. Not only did this mean a temporary estrangement from the Lord, but it also effectively halted her spiritual progression. As Caesarius of Heisterbach noted in his *Dialogues*, it is only once a grace is taken away that it is cherished more diligently when regained.⁴³ There is nothing to suggest that Umiliana took her grace of tears for granted; rather, her action in trying to reclaim it highlights just how greatly she cherished it. In one striking episode, when she next receives the Gift of Tears, Vito records how Monna Compiuta, a witness to Umiliana's ecstasies, "saw her standing, with her eyes and mouth closed and her hands extended as on the Cross, crying so hard that her weeping resembled rainfall rather than tears."⁴⁴ Umiliana's action in mimicking Christ's crucifixion reiterates her suffering, as she stands with her hands extended cross-wise, weeping profusely.

SIGHT AND TEARS

The blindness that Umiliana experienced as a result of the quicklime did not last, and once her sight was recovered, the devil began to torment her with worldly visions, entreating her to weep again for the death of her kin. After the quicklime episode, Vito continues to refer to Umiliana's struggle to leave the mourner's role behind. For instance, in Vito's retelling, Umiliana is constantly taunted by the devil, who strives to reacquaint her with her worldly role by bringing her visions of dead people and encouraging her to engage in mourning for them:

One night when [Umiliana] was praying with her eyes closed a demon approached her, showing her images of dead people, of priests and of the Cross of Christ, saying, "You know how acceptable to God it is

to attend the funerals of the dead; so open your eyes and just see the dead bodies placed before you." When she refused to do so, the devil, rejected, disappeared. On the night after the prior of Santi Apostoli in Florence was killed, the devil appeared in her cell, presenting her the likeness of the prior's dead body, all caked with blood, and said, "Look at this pitiful sight, this awful cruelty, so great a man, the prior of Santi Apostoli, so atrociously murdered and lying dead before you; you must mourn for him." She heard but took no notice, and was not at all distracted from her prayer.⁴⁵

This episode stresses that Umiliana, who must not mourn for the prior of Santi Apostoli, rejected the expected behavior of a laywoman.⁴⁶ In another episode, Umiliana is lured by the devil to look upon the dead bodies of her children in an attempt to draw her back into the world.⁴⁷ This enticement plays not only on Umiliana's denunciation of her female role as a mourner but on her rejection of motherhood. In looking upon these bodies and grieving for the dead, Umiliana would revert back to her worldly role and her progression along her spiritual path would be hindered.

Yet, despite these visions, Umiliana remained resolute. Mourning had no place within Umiliana's new spiritual vocation. Indeed, sentimental weeping was not part of monastic tradition and had been condemned by both Augustine and Gregory the Great. Although, as we have seen, McGuire has argued for a new era of sentiment after about 1050, when monastic writers became more open to the possibility of tears in the context of human attachment, these attitudes were not acceptable to Vito da Cortona in the framework of Umiliana's life.⁴⁸ Umiliana's tears of mourning were an expression of her ties to the world. Although living in the isolation of her tower, Umiliana was still in danger of being intrinsically tied to the world and her family, and so Vito sought to underline her detachment.

Umiliana's struggle to separate herself from the world whilst living within it revolves around the sense of sight. Indeed, although Vito does not explicitly mention that she intended to lose her sight during quicklime application, as the *vita* progresses, Umiliana's desire to become blind appears as a recurring theme: what she sees becomes a constant challenge to her pursuit of a holy life. The connectedness of tears, sight, and blindness are threaded throughout the text. In Umiliana's *vita*, the eyes are the channel to worldliness: we will remember that it was ultimately this *oculorum vitium* that had led to her loss of the Gift of Tears in the first place.⁴⁹

In the visions brought to Umiliana by the devil, ocularity is stressed: the devil coaxes her to open her eyes to stare on the dead and see the worldliness that surrounded her.⁵⁰ The loathsomeness of gazing upon the world is echoed in Umiliana's vision of the Leviathan who is characterized as looking upon her with *terribilibus oculis*.⁵¹ Vito records that when Umiliana was walking in Florence, she was cautious not to raise her eyes so as to look upon the world, and that even in private she kept her eyes only half-open.⁵²

On one occasion, a madly rearing horse caused Umiliana momentarily to look at the rider. The anguish caused by this led the holy woman to exclaim: "Oh, if only I were blind, Lord, that I need see such things no more."⁵³

A comparable desire to be blind, something Umiliana almost achieved by applying quicklime, is present in other *vitae* of thirteenth-century religious women. For the Cistercian nun Lutgard of Awyieres (1182–1246) blindness became a reality towards the end of a life filled with tears.⁵⁴ Similarly, Dauphine of Puimichel was warned by her confessor and doctor that she should refrain from weeping lest she cause herself to go blind. Dauphine, however, defiantly stated that she would rather incur the loss of sight since it was through the "eye of the mind" that the Creator could be known.⁵⁵ Blindness was looked upon favorably by these women as it was a means of both removing temptation and becoming closer to God. In a similar account in the process for her canonization (May 1363), we learn that Dauphine feared that her doctor would ask her to stop shedding tears, and so warned him in advance that there was no way she could stop as "she wanted to destroy her brain and incur blindness more than to abstain from the tears whereby the heart is purified and recognizes the creator."⁵⁶ In the same way, one of the witnesses recalled that Dauphine stressed that it is through the eye of the heart (*oculus cordis*) not the eye of the body, that the creator is known. Becoming blind through excessive weeping, then, was not only a sign of humility and God's grace but also a way in which these holy women became closer to God; and for Umiliana, this blindness served an additional immediate purpose: literally to block her vision of the world and prevent her gazing on anything that would encumber her holy vocation.

* * *

The *vita* of Umiliana de' Cerchi can be used as lens through which to study the Gift of Tears and its importance as a manifestation of grace in the thirteenth century. Tears were a defining attribute of female sanctity in this period. Not only did tears operate as a nonverbal means of communicating sanctity, but they washed away the stains of the world as women forged new spiritual paths. Furthermore, tears were a visible manifestation of God's grace. Umiliana's artificial tear-inducing technique emphasizes the importance that was placed upon shedding tears. Yet, in a world where such a special emphasis was given to tears, Umiliana's action was potentially dangerous. In hagiographies, poetry, and sermons, tears were verification *par excellence* of true devotion and the corporal manifestation was a form of physical evidence. Umiliana's hagiographer was clearly aware of the perilous potential of applying quicklime, yet chose to include this act in his *vita*, skillfully defusing any notion of transgressive behavior and embedding it in a narrative of Umiliana's holy struggle to overcome her *vitium oculorum*. The importance of the Gift is underlined for the reader by recounting

the alkaline episode whilst at the same time reducing its potential negative effect. The reason for Umiliana's loss of tears, her *vitium oculorum*, is knitted into a narrative of struggle to separate herself from a world in which she would be encouraged to participate in secular mourning appropriate to her status and gender. Umiliana's tears demarcate her place in the world: her tears of mourning symbolize an attachment to the world but are replaced by a higher grace of tears that represent her spiritual ascent.

NOTES

All translations are my own unless otherwise stated. My thanks to Clive Sneddon for his kind assistance with the translation of the Occitan texts used here.

1. Vito da Cortona, "Vita beatae Humiliane de Cerchis," in *Acta Sanctorum Maius IV* (Antwerp: Societ  des Bollandistes, 1866), 389: "Sed Deus volens aperire fervorem suum, non sibi tam cito se dedit, quem cum multo desiderio expectabat; imo quamdam duritiam pr ostendit, ut in devotione habere lacrymas non valerat. Quod ipsa ferre non sustinens, calcem propriis oculis apposuit: ita quod privari credidit lumine oculorum. Hoc egit, ut pius Deus pietate motus, ei pietatis lacrymas largiretur: & bene conscia sui timuit, ne hoc actum sit oculorum vitio. Et quia quandoque mortem suorum ploravit, vovit Deo se numquam producturam lacrymas, nisi ob memoriam peccatorum suorum, vel ob gratiam Dei vel Domini passionem. Post paucos dies tantam Deus infudit ei gratiam lacrymarum, ut non quasi lacrym  viderentur, sed rivuli fluviorum." Translation adapted from Diana Webb, "Umiliana de' Cerchi of Florence," in *Saints and Cities in Medieval Italy* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), 107–108.
2. Some of the most lachrymose holy men and women from the thirteenth century include Mendicants, Beguines, and Cistercians such as Marie d'Oignies (d. 1213), Dominic of Caleruega (1170–1221), Francis of Assisi (1181–1226), Ida of Nivelles (1199–1231), Clare of Assisi (ca. 1193–1253), Beatrice of Nazareth (1200–1268), Douceline of Digne (1215–1274), Margaret of Cortona (ca. 1247–1297), and Dauphine of Puimichel (ca. 1284–1361). For further examples and details, see my forthcoming thesis: "Blessed Are Those Who Weep: The Gift of Tears in the Thirteenth Century," University of St. Andrews.
3. See Nagy, *Le don des larmes*; Andr  Vauchez, *La saintet  en Occident aux derniers si cles du Moyen  ge d'apr s les proc s de canonisation et les documents hagiographiques* (Rome:  cole fran aise de Rome, 1981), 512–513.
4. Ambrose Gardeil, "La beatitude des larmes," *Vie Spirituelle* 39 (1934): 129–136; Pie-Raymond R gamey, "La compunction du C ur," *Vie Spirituelle* 45, no. S1 (1935): 8–21; Henry Bars, "  la source des larmes," *Vie Spirituelle* 57 (1938): 140–150; Joseph de Guibert, "La Componction du C ur," *Revue d'Asc tique et de Mystique* 15 (1934): 225–240.
5. Myrrha Lot-Borodine, "La myst re du don des larmes dans l'Orient Chr tien," *Vie Spirituelle* 48 (1936): 65–116; Ir n e Hausherr, *Penthos: The Doctrine of Compunction in the Christian East*, trans. Anselm Hufstader (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercians Publications, 1982), originally published as Ir n e Hausherr, *Penthos: La Doctrine de la Componction dans l'Orient Chr tien* (Rome: Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1944). Lev Gillet, in "The Gift of Tears in the Ancient Tradition of the Christian East,"

Sobornost 12 (1937): 5–10, suggested that tears filled a larger place in the traditions of the East than the West, and categorized the types of tears found in Eastern Christianity.

6. Recently, John Chryssavgis explored the descriptions of tears in the work of John Climacus (ca. 525–606). Chryssavgis constructed stages in order to systematize the many types of tears that occur in the *Ladder*, a text addressed to anchorites explaining how to attain the highest degree of perfection: John Chryssavgis, “A Spirituality of Imperfection: The Way of Tears in Saint John Climacus,” *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 37, no. 4 (2002): 359–371.
7. P. Basilus Steidle, “Die tränen, ein mystisches Problem im alten Mönchtum,” *Benediktinische Monatschrift* 20 (1938): 681–687.
8. Heinz Gerd Weinand, *Tränen: Untersuchungen über das Weinen in der deutschen Sprache und Literatur des Mittelalters* (Bonn: H. Bouvier, 1958); Jean-Charles Payen, *Le motif du repentir dans la littérature française médiévale: des origines à 1230* (Geneva: Droz, 1967).
9. Adnès, “Larmes”; Marie-Humbert Vicare, “La prière charismatique au Moyen Âge: Le cas des prêcheurs,” in *Dominique et ses prêcheurs* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1977), 410–430.
10. Brian Patrick McGuire, *The Difficult Saint: Bernard of Clairvaux and His Tradition* (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1991), 133–151.
11. McGuire, *Difficult Saint*, 144.
12. Sandra J. McEntire, *The Doctrine of Compunction in Medieval England: Holy Tears* (Lewiston, NY: E. Mellen Press, 1991).
13. Nagy, in *Le don des larmes*, examines the works of Evagrius Ponticus (ca. 345–399), John Climacus (ca. 525–606), Gregory the Great (ca. 540–604), Peter Damian (1007–1072), and Jean de Fécamp (d. 1079) among others.
14. In research for my doctorate I have examined Mendicant, Cistercian, and Beguine hagiographies from the Lowlands, France, and Italy. All the female saints shed tears. In a small proportion of cases, no Gift of Tears is recorded but in the majority, an ecstatic experience of tears is identifiable. See my forthcoming thesis: “Blessed Are Those Who Weep: The Gift of Tears in the Thirteenth Century,” University of St. Andrews.
15. See Nagy, *Le don des larmes*, 22–24.
16. For one of the most important contributions in this area, see Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast. The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986).
17. Peter Dinzelsbacher and Renate Vogeler, eds., *Leben und Offenbarungen der Wiener Begine Agnes Blannbekin (d.1315)* (Göppingen: Kümmerle Verlag, 1994), 184: “Item adjecit orans: ‘Domine, si dignaris meas preces exaudire, ut per verbum tuum mihi promisisti, da etiam mihi hoc pro signo, ut crastina die, scilicet die tue passionis et mortis tue, valeam multa corporaliter pati et sustinere et non deficere, et quod ad omnes horas diei septem scilicet canonicas, dare mihi velis imbrem et gratiam lachrymarum!’ Hoc autem totum est completum in ea. Nam duas noctes illas sequentes duxit quasi insomnes, vix sedendo modicum nutitans. Et in die passionis domini cum quodam ramo juniperi se flagellans mille plagas accepit, cum virga illa foret tam aspera, et ipsa non leniter percutebatur, sed ad sanguinis effusionem se cruentans. Dixit etiam quod suaviter sustineret. Et jejunans in parasceve vix duos morsellos comedit panis tantum, non est tamen fatigata, secundum quod ipsa desideraverat. Ad matutinas quoque et ad alias horas, cum illas legeret, tanta est ei data a domino abundantia lachrymarum, ut vix prae lachrymis aliquando horas complevit.” Ulrike Wiethaus, trans. and ed., *Agnes Blannbekin, Viennese Beguine: Life and Revelations* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2002), 55.

18. Caesarius of Heisterbach (ca. 1180–1240), *Dialogus Miraculorum. Dialog Über die Wunder*, trans. Nikolaus Nösges and Horst Schneider (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 1:438–440: “Cum intellexissem supradictum monachum gratiam illam lacrimarum percepisse a femina tali religiosa, rogavi Abbatem meum, tunc recenter factus monachus, ut liceret mihi tales visitare feminas. Et concessit mihi statim. Veniens itaque ad dominum cuiusdam honestae matronae Brabantiae hospitandi gratia; cum intellexisset desiderium meum, dixit mihi in ioco: ‘Quid quaeritis videre istas begginas? Vultis ergo, ostendam vobis mulierem bonam, quae quicquid vult, obtinet a Deo.’ Respondi: ‘Talem multum videre desidero.’ Et statim ad verbum eius mulier quaedam de cubiculo suo egressa, veniens ad me, coepit mecum loqui. In cuius adventu, cum mihi mandassh, quod tali nocte gratium illam lacrimarum mihi sentirem gratiam adesse, rogavi eam, ut oraret pro me. Quae cum diceret: ‘Quid vultis ut orem pro vobis?’ Respondi: ‘Ut possim deflere peccata mea.’ Et illa: ‘Numquid non estis monachus? Qui peccata sua non potest deflere, monachus non est.’ Et cum instarem, quatenus mihi gratiam hanc obtineret, respondit: ‘Ite, abundanter habebitis.’ Proxima nocte orans ante lectum meum, cum de peccatis meis cogitarem, nec tamen mulieris promissum munus attenderem, coepi ita abundanter et supra molrem solitum flere, pene usque ad mediam noctem, ut tandem timens capiti meo, vix me cohibere possem a fletu. Quare cum mihi mandasset, quod tali nocte gratiam illam lacrimarum mihi impetrasset, iterum reversus sum ad eam, et sciscitatus sum ab ea, dicens: ‘Dicite mihi in caritate, qualiter mihi obtinueritis gratiam illam.’ Quae respondit mihi sub his verbis: ‘Primo quidem Dominum durum inveni; sed dixi ei: Domine, non evades manus meas, nisi monachus ille habeat gratiam lacrimarum. Et statim concessit tibi.’ Adiecit et tertium exemplum de simili material.” (“When I heard that the aforesaid monk had received the grace of tears through the nun, I asked my abbot, for I had then only recently become a monk, that I might be allowed to visit these nuns, and forthwith he gave me permission. And so I came for hospitality to the certain honorable maiden of Brabant; and when she heard of the object of my visit, she said jestingly: ‘Why do you want to see those fanatics? If you like, I will introduce you to a good woman, who obtains from God everything that she asks for.’ I replied: ‘Very much do I desire to see such a woman.’ And immediately at her word, a woman came from her room, and approached me, and began to talk with me. At her coming, I felt the presence of grace, and begged her to pray for me. When she said, ‘What do you wish me to ask for you?’ I replied, ‘That I may be able to weep for my sins.’ And she: ‘Are you not a monk? He who cannot weep for his sins is no true monk.’ And when I urged her to obtain this grace for me, she answered, ‘Go in peace, you shall have it abundantly.’ The next night, when I was praying at my bedside and thinking upon my sins, and yet not expecting the gift promised by that woman, I began to weep so abundantly and beyond wont, continuing nearly till midnight, that at length, fearing to injure my brain, I succeeded with the utmost difficulty in refraining from more tears, I went back to see her, and asked, ‘Tell me in charity, how you obtained for me that grace.’ And she answered in these words: ‘At first indeed I found the Lord hard to move, but I said to Him, “Lord, I will not let Thee go, except Thou grant this monk the grace of tears”; and forthwith He granted it to you.’ He added also an example of the same kind.”) Caesarius of Heisterbach, *The Dialogue on Miracles*, trans. H. Von E. Scott and C. C. Swinton Bland (London: G. Routledge and Sons, 1929), 1:99–100.
19. It is also important to note that women generally had a special connection with tears. They were understood to be more inclined to weeping, aligned with the principles of medieval physiology, where women were categorized

by the properties of wetness or liquefaction. Pseudo-Albertus Magnus, *Women's Secrets*, 62.

20. The tears of Dauphine of Puimichel were considered so efficacious that a nun from the monastery of Sainte-Croix secretly took her veil from her bedroom and squeezed the tears into a phial to keep. Jacques Cambell, trans., *Les vies occitanes de Saint Auzias et de Sainte Dauphine* (Rome: Pontificium Athenaeum Antonianum, 1963), 202: "Cum una vetz estes al mostier de sancta Crot(z), una munga del dig mostier, mot devota e sa familiar, una dia intrec en sa cambra; e prenden secretamen lo vel am que terzia e yssugava sos huelhs, e apreman am sas mas, l'ayga de las lagremas escampec en un fiola o botiga; la qual ayga reservec a ssi per relequias." (One time, when she was in the monastery of Sainte-Croix, a very pious nun of the said church, her servant [sa familiar], entered her room one day; and she secretly took the veil with which she wiped and dried her eyes, and squeezed it with her hands; and the water of her tears escaped into a phial or bottle, which water she kept for herself as relics.)

Similarly, when the Beguine Marie d'Oignies died (1213), her confessor and hagiographer Jacques de Vitry received a piece of lace into which she had wept, which like the other small items she left him, was more precious to him than silver or gold. See Jacques de Vitry, "Vita B. Mariae Oignaciensis," in *Acta Sanctorum Junius V* (Paris: Soci     des Bollandistes, 1867), 569: "Et quia quando reverteretur, nesciebat; testamentum suum facere festinavit; relinquens mihi corrigiam qua cincta erat, & sudarium lineum quo lacrymas abstergebat, & quaedam alia modica, auro & argento mihi cariora." (Since she did not know when I would return, she hastened to make her will and left to me the piece of lace with which she was girt and a linen handkerchief with which she wiped away her tears. She left it to him together with the belt and other small things that were more valuable to him than gold or silver.) Translation adapted from Jacques de Vitry, *The Life of Marie d'Oignies*, 3rd ed., ed. and trans. Margot H. King (Toronto: Peregrina Publishing Co., 1993), 120.

It is also of note that the relic of the tear of Christ, known as *Sainte Larme*, venerated in Vend     amongst other places, became increasingly popular during this period. See Boertjes, "Pilgrim Ampullae," 443–472; Crozet, "Le Monument," 171–180.

21. A detailed study of Umiliana's life can be found in Anna Benvenuti Papi, "*In castro poenitentiae*": *Santita e Societa femminile nell'Italia medievale* (Rome: Herder, 1990), 59–98 and 171–203. See also Carol Lansing, *The Florentine Magnates: Lineage and Faction in a Medieval Commune* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991), 111–124.
22. The earliest extant life of Umiliana was edited in the *Acta Sanctorum*: Vito da Cortona, "Vita beatae Humilianae de Cerchis." Several later versions and interpretations exist, including one in the vernacular: Domenico Moreni, "Leggenda della beata Umiliana de' Cerchi," in *Prosatori Minori del Trecento*, ed. Giuseppe De Luca, 723–768 (Milan: R. Ricciardi, 1954).

Although the *vita* was ostensibly written in 1246, several events contained in the work almost certainly occurred later, such as the expulsion of the Guelfs from Florence around 1248. Furthermore, the posthumous *apparitiones* attached to the end of *vita* are recorded to have taken place two or three years after Umiliana's death and were seemingly collected by Fra Ippolito in 1249. See Webb, *Saints and Cities*, 91.

23. It is unclear why Vito begins the *vita* at this point. Perhaps he sought to emphasize Umiliana's marriage and rejection of it as a frame for the rest of his work. But it is also equally likely that he did not know anything of her early life.

24. Vito da Cortona, "Vita," 386: "Dum esset in potestate mariti, bindas omnes distribuit, nihil retinens sibi præter unam lineam & partem alterius sericæ detruncatæ: quam more B. Martini dividens, maiorem partem dedit cuidam pauperi Dominæ, minimam sibi retinens, qua bindam lineam cooperiret. Tunicam scarleti novam, sibi emptam a marito, restrinxit ex lateribus, & ex parte pedum partem maximam detruncavit: ex qua componens manicas, vendebat, & pretium dabat in cibos pauperum miserorum. . . . Quadam die bindam quam portabet in capite dividens, partem sibi retinens, partem cuidam leproso dedit, quem invenit in via dolore capitis fortiter cruciari." (While she was under her husband's authority, she gave away all her headbands, only keeping one of linen and part of another, made of silk, which was cut down; this, like St. Martin, she divided, giving the larger part to a certain poor lady, and keeping a small part for herself with which to cover the linen one. A new tunic of scarlet that her husband bought for her she took in at the sides and cut a considerable part off the hem; she made sleeves from this and sold them and spent the money on food for the wretched poor. . . . One day she cut up the headband she was wearing and, keeping part for herself, gave the other part to a leper whom she found in the street suffering acute head pains.) Translation adapted from Webb, *Saints and Cities*, 98–99.
25. Anna Benvenuti Papi, "Umiliana dei Cerchi nascita di un culto nella Firenze del Dugento." *Studi Francescani* 77 (1980): 87–117. See also Vauchez, *La sainteté en Occident*, 244–246.
26. For a discussion of this episode and of the changing nature of dowries and inheritance in Florence, see Lansing, *Florentine Magnates*, 109–115.
27. Vito da Cortona, "Vita," 389; Webb, *Saints and Cities*, 105.
28. Vito da Cortona, "Vita," 388: "Intrare voluit in monasterium S. Mariæ de Monticellis Inclusarum pauperum Dominarum, sed Deus, qui aliud de ipsa decreverat, non permisit. Nolebat enim Deus amplius accensam lucernam latere sub modio, & ideo posuit eam super candelabrum in altitudinem vitæ & exempli, ut luceret omnibus qui in domo sunt, hoc est in Ecclesia militanti." (She wanted to enter the house of the enclosed poor ladies of Santa Maria Monticello, but God, who had other plans for her, did not permit it. God did not want her light any longer to be hid under a bushel, and therefore placed her high up on a candelabrum of life and example, so that she might give light to those in the house, that is in the Church Militant.) Translation adapted from Webb, *Saints and Cities*, 105.
- Other reasons may have prevented Umiliana from entering Santa Maria of Monticello: her father may have been unwilling to support the move so that she was unable to pay a form of oblation to secure her entry.
29. Vito da Cortona, "Vita," 388: "Alii relicto seculo & paternis mansionibus, ad solitudinem fugientes, Domino militarunt; hæc in domum patris solitudinem adducens, militando nobiliter vicit mundum, & vitium in medio mundanorum." (Some leave the world and their paternal home and fleeing into the desert fight for the Lord; she brought the desert into her father's house, and fighting nobly defeated the world and the vice in the midst of worldly things.) Translation adapted from Webb, *Saints and Cities*, 106.
30. Vito da Cortona, "Vita," 386: "Visitabant etiam loca Sanctorum, ut moris esset Florentiæ, scilicet Dominarum de Monticellis, & Pauperum S. Galli, & alia ubi constitutæ sunt Indulgentiæ pro peccatis, ut omnium bonorum fierent participes & consortes; spretis virorum minis & illatis injuriis ab eisdem, quæ inferebantur ex contracta mora quæ ex longa visitatione fiebat." (They also visited holy places according to the Florentine custom, that is the nuns of Monticello and the poor [hospital] of San Gallo, and other places where there were indulgences for the remission of sin, so that they might become

sharers in all good things; disregarding the threats of their husbands and the ill-treatment they received from them because of the time they spent in their lengthy visits.) Translation adapted from Webb, *Saints and Cities*, 100.

31. Vito da Cortona, "Vita," 388. "Quid sibi de vita monastica defuit, quæ in tam continuis silentiis & observationibus vixit? Quid minus sanctis Eremitis habuit, quæ in meditullio civitatis sibi solitudinem invenit, & thalamum in carcerem commutavit? Quid minus sanctis Sororibus S. Damiani asperitatis sustinuit, quæ in cibis & potibus tam sobrie vixit? Recreata modico somno, noctem totam in orationibus expendebat; & quanta tunc perfundebatur gratia, dicere possunt qui viderunt, secundum quod percipere potuerunt. O quantis perfundebantur lacrymis illæ genæ & pectus beatum, quia non lacrymæ sed rivuli videbantur, quæ de ipsius oculis emanabant." Translation adapted from Webb, *Saints and Cities*, 106.
32. Lansing, *Passion and Order*, 120–124. For an introduction to Cathar beliefs, see Jean Duvernoy, *La religion des cathares* (Toulouse: Privat, 1976).
33. Beguine Marie d'Oignies faced similar problems and her perfect holiness is emphasized by her hagiographer against the backdrop of heresy. See Jacques de Vitry, "Vita B. Mariæ Oignaciensis," 547–549.
34. Symeon the New Theologian, *The Discourses*, trans. C. J. de Catanzaro (London: SPCK, 1980), 81.
35. See also Katherine Ludwig Jansen, *The Making of the Magdalen. Preaching and Popular Devotion in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), 209–212.
36. See Lansing, *Florentine Magnates*, 116–117. On mourning in Trecento, Italy, and its complex relationship to visual representation, and on imagery of mourning in Byzantium, see Steinhoff's and Maguire's chapters in this volume, respectively.
37. Anthony of Padua, *Sermones dominicales et festivi*, vol. 3, ed. Beniamino Costa, Leonardo Frasson and Ioanne Luisetto (Padua: Edizioni Messaggero, 1979), 160–161: "Quod mulieres maioris sunt pietatis quam viri, et citius eiciunt lacrimas, et sunt fortis memoriae."
38. Vito da Cortona, "Vita," 389. See note 1.
39. Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus Miraculorum*, 2:746–748: "Monachus: Tempore quodam Dominus, qui intentator est malorum, gratiam lacrimarum, quam illi copiose contulerat, subtrahit, unde satis tentabatur. Novicius: Antequam procedas, nosse vellum, cur Deus huiusmodi gratias viris iustis subtrahat. Monachus: Quatuor de causis videtur illa subtractio fieri, ne videlicet gratia assiduitate vilescat; ne meus de usu illius superbiat; ut cum maiori desiderio quaeratur, et recuperata diligentius custodiatur; quarta causa est culpa venialis." See also Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogue on Miracles*, 1:227.
40. Italics mine.
41. See Aviad M. Kleinberg's study of sainthood, *Prophets in Their Own Country: Living Saints and the Making of Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), especially 135.
42. Vito da Cortona, "Vita," 386. See note 30.
43. See note 39.
44. Vito da Cortona, "Vita," 393: "Nocte quadam vidit illam Domina Compiuta, clausis oculis & ore & extensis manibus in modum Crucis stantem pedibus, tam fortiter lacrymantem, ut non lacrymæ sed pluvia videretur ipsa irrigatio lacrymarum." Translation adapted from Webb, *Saints and Cities*, 119.

This stance is particularly interesting as it appears to be the same as adopted by St. Dominic in the miniatures illustrating the *De Modi Orandi* (also known as the Nine Ways of Prayer). *De Modi Orandi* records that

Dominic did not assume this stance often, possibly because of the powerful nature of imitating Christ. See Leonard E. Boyle and Jean-Claude Schmitt, eds., *Modi Orandi Sancti Dominici* (Zurich: Belser Verlag, 1995). English translation available in Simon Tugwell, ed., *Early Dominicans: Selected Writings* (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 1982), 94–103. Another episode where Umiliana's weeping is connected with Christ's passion can be found Vito da Cortona, "Vita," 394: "Aliquando eundo per viam incipiebat affici ex memoria passionis Christi, & paulatim devotionis affectione crescente erumpebat in amarissimas lamentationes, in tantum quod non esset adeo ferreum pectus, quod non molliretur, & non prorumperet in lacrymas & lamentum." (Sometimes when she was going along the road she began to be affected by the memory of the Passion of Christ, and little by little as the feelings of devotion grew she burst out into the bitterest lamentations; there could not have been so iron a heart that would not have been softened and burst into tears and wailing.) Translation adapted from Webb, *Saints and Cities*, 121.

45. Vito da Cortona, "Vita," 391: "Quadam nocte cum oraret oculis clausis, adstitit ei quidam dæmon, ostendens ei mortuorum imagines & Sacerdotum & Crucis Christi, dicens: Tu scis, quam grata sit Deo visitatio funeris mortuorum: aperi igitur oculos tuos, & vide saltem mortuorum corpora posita coram te. Cui cum non acquiesceret, diabolus contemptus disparuit. Secunda nocte ab illa nocte, qua interfectus est Prior sancti Apostoli civitatis Florentiæ, posuit diabolus coram ea in cella sua, repræsentans ei exanime corpus istius Prioris, ut erat totum sanguine cruentatum, & dicens: Respice & vide flebilem pietatem & horrendam crudelitatem, tantum hominem, Priorem scilicet sancti Apostoli, sic enormiter jugulatum, jacentem mortuum ante te, cui compati multum debes. Quod audiens non attendit, nec curavit, nec etiam ab oratione aliquatenus declinavit." Translation adapted from Webb, *Saints and Cities*, 111.
46. Webb notes that this occurred in August of 1244: Webb, *Saints and Cities*, 111, n. 31. See also Benvenuti Papi, "In castro poenitentiae," 85.
47. Vito da Cortona, "Vita," 390. "Numquid filias tuas non alloqueris, quas cernis mortuas nouiter ante te?" (Do you say nothing to your daughters whom you see newly dead before you?). Webb, *Saints and Cities*, 109.
48. Such monastic writers included John of Fécamp (d. 1078), Anselm of Bec (d. 1109), Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153), and Ailred of Rievaulx (1110–1167). See McGuire, *Difficult Saint*, 138–144.
49. In the later vernacular version of Umiliana's *vita*, the equivalent reference to the *vitium oculorum* is notably missing. Moreni, *Prosatori Minori del Trecento*, 733: "Ma volendo il Signore aprire il suo fervore, non le si diede sì tosto, lo quale ella aspettava con molto desiderio; anzi mostrò prima alcuna durizia, ché non potesse avere la divozione delle lagrime. La qual cosa non possendo sostenere, si puose calcina a' propi occhi, in tal modo ch'ella si credette essere privata del lume degli occhi. Questo fece a ciò che 'l piatoso Signore, mosso a piatade, la donasse le lagrime della piatade. E imperciò che alcuna volta pianse suoi morti, botòssi a Dio di mai non gittare lagrime, se non per memoria de' suoi peccati, e per la grazia di Dio, o per la Passione del Signore. Dopo pochi di tanta grazia di lagrime le versò di cielo, che quasi non parevano lagrime ma fiumi." (Yet the Lord, wanting to open her fervor, did not give to her too soon, that which she awaited with much longing: in fact, at first he showed a little hardness because she was not able to have the devotion of tears. Being unable to withstand this, she put quicklime in her eyes so that deprived herself of the light in her eyes. She did this so that the compassionate Lord, moved to pity, would give her the tears of piousness. And since she sometimes wept for her dead family, she vowed to God that she would never shed

tears, if not for the memory of her sins, the grace of God, or the Passion of Lord. After a few days, she shed such grace of tears towards heaven that they almost seemed not like tears but rivers.)

50. Vito da Cortona, "Vita," 390: "aperi igitur oculos tuos, et vide saltem mortuorum corpora posita coram te." (Open your eyes and just see the dead bodies placed before you.) Translation adapted from Webb, *Saints and Cities*, 111.
51. Vito da Cortona, "Vita," 390: "Cernens Leviathan, seductor humani generis inimicus, quod propter huiusmodi fictiones suas non cederet, ut ab oratione cessaret; occurrit ad propriam sui formam, scilicet ad serpentinam, quam abhorre consueverunt maxime mulieres; & ipsa forma magnæ corporeitatis suscepta subito sibi apparuit, terribilibus oculis ipsam inspiciens; ut saltem ad modicum constantiam ejus infringens, devotionis gratiam impediret." (Leviathan, the beguiling enemy of the human race, perceiving that she was not going to yield to impostures of this kind and desist from prayer, he had recourse to his own form, that of a serpent, which women usually greatly abominate, and having assumed this huge bodily form he appeared to her, looking upon her with terrible eyes, in order at least to dent her constancy a little and obstruct the grace of her devotion.) *Saints and Cities*, 112.
52. Vito da Cortona, "Vita," 392: "Erat namque humilis in omni opere suo, ultra quam credi potest, & in omnibus corporis membris humilem habebat aspectum, quia numquam oculos aspiciendo levabat." (She was unbelievably humble in all her doings and bore a humble aspect in every lineament of her body, for she never raised her eyes to look about her.) *Saints and Cities*, 115. See also text in note 53.
53. Vito da Cortona, "Vita," 394: "Si contingeret eam aliqua occasione vel causa quemquam videre mortalium, constrictabatur valde: & optans fieri cæca, rogabat Dominum ut privaret eam lumine oculorum. Erat in domo semiclausis oculis, & in via defixis oculis in terra pergebat, non attendens ad dexteram vel sinistram. Die quadam per viam transeundo ex insaniam cujusdam prosilientis equi, contigit eam levare oculos, ne suppedietur ab equo, & videre subito insidentem equo: tunc cordis dolore tacta intrinsecus, in verba turbata prorupit dicens: O si cæca essem, Domine, ut amplius talia non viderem." (It happened that on any occasion or for any reason she saw a mortal man she was greatly grieved and, wanting to be made blind, asked the Lord to deprive her of the light of her eyes. At home her eyes were half-closed, and along the road she kept them fixed on the ground, not looking left or right. One day she was passing along the road when a madly rearing horse, caused her to raise her eyes lest she should be trampled by the horse, and momentarily she saw the rider. Wounded by an inner pain she exclaimed vehemently, Oh, if only I were blind, Lord, that I need see such things no more.) *Saints and Cities*, 122.
54. Thomas de Cantimpré, "Vita Lutgardis," *Acta Sanctorum Junius* 4 (Paris: Société des Bollandistes, 1867), 204. Thomas de Cantimpré, *The Life of Lutgard of Aywières*, trans. Margot H. King (Toronto: Peregrina Publishing Co., 1991), 73–74. Perhaps the most well-known instance of blindness incurred as a result of tears can be found in the life of Francis of Assisi (ca. 1181–1226). Francis's almost continual weeping oscillated between contrite sobs and incoercible floods of tears that caused doctors to pray that he would not lose his sight. See Bonaventure of Bagnoregio, "The Minor Legend of St Francis," in *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents*, ed. Regis J. Armstrong, J. Wayne Hellmann, and William J. Short, 2:715 (New York: New York City Press, 1999): "As his sons were sitting around him, the patriarch of the poor [Francis], whose eyes had been dimmed not by age but by tears; the holy man, blind and now near death, crossed his arms and stretched his hands over them in the form of a cross, for

he always loved this sign.” Also “The Deeds of Blessed Francis and His Companions II,” in *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents*, 3:439: “Blessed Francis, that most devout servant of the Crucified Christ, became almost entirely blind. Because of the rigor of his penance and continuous weeping, he could see very little.”

55. Cambell, *Les vies occitanes*, 203: “Plorava yssamen amaramen las armas, las quals vezia per algunas lagezas de peccat orregar e enquinar. E per aquestras causas tantas lagremas escampava, que per ayso encorrece lh venc gran enfermetat dels huelhs e del cap; e per amor d’ayso fo lhi acosselhat per sollempnial metge que se abstengues de plorar, si volia esquivar lo consumimen e la destructio del cap e la orbeza dels huelhs. Empero ela li respondec que may volia encorre e sufertar aquels dampnatges que abstenen de lagremas, per las quals huelh mental es denegat et purgat e l Creator n’es conogut.” (And this caused so many tears to escape her that great infirmity came upon her eyes and her head, [and for the love of him] to the point where a renowned doctor advised her to abstain from crying if she wanted to avoid the consumption and destruction of her head and the blinding of her eyes. But she replied to him that she would rather incur and suffer such damage than abstain from tears, through which the eye of the mind is refined and purified and the Creator is known.)

The usage of the word *escampava* in these episodes is telling: *escampava* suggests that the tears were something uncontrollable, i.e., the Gift of Tears, not “human” tears. When Dauphine’s tears were taken as relics, they also “escaped” into the phial.

56. Jacques Cambell, ed., *Enquête pour le procès de canonisation de Dauphine de Puimichel, comtesse d’Ariano- (+ 26–XI-1360): Apt et Avignon, 14 mai-30 octobre 1363* (Turin: Bottega d’Erasmus, 1978), 49–50: “Et quod contingit quod, cum ipsa domina iam antiqua facta de dolore seu malo quod in oculis paciebatur, cuidam devoto et sibi familiari medico conquereretur; et dubitans quod idem medicus devotus, qui confessor suus fuerat et familiaris valde preceperit eidem ut a lacrimis abstinere, premisit eidem quod nullo modo lacrimas sibi prohiberet, quia nullo modo sibi de lacrimarum abstinencia obediret; nam plus volebat consumcionem cerebri et cecitatem visus incurrere quam abstinere a lacrimis, quibus oculus cordis purificatur et Creator agnoscitur.” (And it happened that when this lady had become old from grief or illness, which she suffered in her eyes and complained to a doctor whom she knew well and who was devoted to her; and worrying that this devoted doctor who had been her confessor and close friend would tell her to stop shedding tears, she told him in advance that there was no way he would forbid her tears, because she would not obey him at all in abstaining from weeping, because she wanted to destroy her brain and incur blindness more than to abstain from the tears whereby the eye of the heart is purified and recognizes the creator.)

8 Weeping as Discourse between Heaven and Earth

The Transformative Power of Tears in Medieval Jewish Literature

Rachel S. Mikva

I INTRODUCTION

The Sages said: When Israel saw the Egyptians pursuing them, fear and trembling seized them. In that moment, Israel was like a dove fleeing to her nest in order to escape from a hawk, only to find a serpent once she got there. Similarly, when Israel caught sight of the Egyptians, they said to Moses, “Moses our teacher, where will we go—the Egyptians are behind us and the sea is in front of us?!” Then they lifted up their voice in lament, and even Moses wept with them. The mercy of the Blessed Holy One was stirred.

Midrash vaYosha, a medieval rabbinic text, begins its explication of the Song at the Sea (Exodus 15) with this vivid description of the Israelites newly released from slavery.¹ Clearly Pharaoh has changed his mind, sending soldiers to recapture them, and the people are trapped at the Sea of Reeds with Egyptian troops closing in fast. Free barely long enough to dream of the possibilities, they are reduced to tears; even their fearless leader cannot help but weep. Alluding to an earlier midrash, the redactor evokes the image of a defenseless dove; all she can do is cry out and beat her wings in alarm, hoping that the owner of the cote will come to her rescue.² And he does.

It is not surprising that weeping would stir divine mercy; there is biblical precedent for the expectation that God will hearken to tears. In the Psalmist’s imagination, they are stored up as credits for drawing down divine salvation: *You put my tears in Your flask, into Your record. Then my enemies will retreat when I call on You* (Psalm 56:9–10).³ Isaiah prophesies that the weeping of the nation will spur God to action: *You shall have no more cause to weep. He will grant you His favor at the sound of your cry; He will respond as soon as He hears it* (Isaiah 30:19).⁴

Although Isaiah of Jerusalem could never have imagined it, as a firm believer that the earthly abode of the Most High was invincible, the city fell to the Babylonians in 586 BCE and the Temple was destroyed. Rebuilt before the end of the century, the Temple was again demolished by the

Romans in 70 CE.⁵ After centuries of the Jewish people living in exile, oppressed by empires, a Talmudic sage posits it must have been at that point, as the Second Temple lay in ruins, that the gates of prayer were closed. After all, the very mechanism of atonement and reconciliation was eliminated, and the Jews had been praying for restoration for hundreds of years to no avail. The passage goes on to say, however, that the gates of tears are never sealed (*Babylonian Talmud Baba Metzia* 59a).⁶

This Talmudic *sugya* (literary unit) includes a brief caution against wronging one's wife because "her tears are frequent," but then relates a long narrative in which a man, Rabbi Eliezer, is reduced to tears after a disagreement with the rabbinic community leads to his being banned. His weeping first causes the destruction of a significant portion of the region's crops, and his later ritual "falling on his face"⁷ results in the death of Rabban Gamaliel, the head (*Nasi*) of the rabbinic community. Portrayed neither as the intent of Rabbi Eliezer nor as direct divine action, these devastating consequences appear almost as a mechanistic response to tears. They burst through the gates of heaven.⁸

Although different from the explicit evocation of divine compassion in *Midrash vaYosha*, both texts portray tears as a powerful voice within the realm of moral discourse, addressing an injustice that has been perpetrated or seems inevitable. Gary Ebersole's foundational studies of tears in the history of religions identify this recurrent role in a variety of faiths and cultures.⁹ Despite such cross-cultural commonalities, it is challenging to describe the meanings of tears even within a single religious tradition. Most efforts focus on a particular genre, period, or theme. The work of Eitan Fishbane and Moshe Idel, for instance, examines tears specifically within mystical Jewish literature (discussed in Section IV). As mentioned in note 8, Charlotte Fonrobert studies the role of gender in Talmudic portrayal of tears. Herbert Bassler offers the only broad overview of weeping in Jewish sources, and he describes these literary tears as "[s]o varied and changing, so wispy and ephemeral, so particular and immediate, their images defy ready explanation."¹⁰ Thus, despite the similar role of tears within these rabbinic- and medieval-period passages, the differences are of greater interest in this study.

Jewish literary representations of tears do not function mechanistically in the Middle Ages. Weeping becomes not only an expression of feeling, not simply a claim in the moral economy, but also a representation of relationship, including a more highly developed discourse between heaven and earth. In this shifting literary fabric, the contrasts are not absolute. Medieval era material frequently traces back to the rabbinic period, and one can glimpse in the early texts shades of what is to come. Rather, the motif of tears weaves a new cloth of the inherited threads of tradition, emerging with renewed revelatory and transformative power.

Tears are not discussed systematically within medieval Jewish literature, either spiritually or medically.¹¹ Their assigned meanings are best distilled

from literary portrayals of figures who cry. This chapter utilizes the first pericope of *Midrash vaYosha* as the base text for exploring the theme, in order to address several developments in the literary presentation of tears, woven together with historical events and communities of readers, listeners, and weepers.

II ATTACHMENT

The mercy of the Blessed Holy One was stirred, and He said to Moses, "Why do you cry out to Me (Exodus 14:15)? I have already called to mind the prayer which my beloved Abraham asked of Me when I told him, 'Go and slaughter your son before Me.' He immediately accepted it in love, and the next day he rose early to do My will."

Midrash vaYosha was originally redacted in the eleventh or twelfth century in the Ashkenazi Jewish world of Germany or Northern France. It was quite possibly performed in the synagogue as accompaniment for the Torah reading on the seventh day of Passover, the day that commemorates the miraculous crossing of the sea en route to freedom. Later adapted as a more literary text in an Arabic milieu, it was joined to a contemporaneous Ashkenazi midrash about the Binding of Isaac in its opening exegesis.¹² The justification for this presumably fanciful association is the textual difficulty posed by God's incongruous reply to Moses regarding the panicked Israelites: *Why do you cry out to Me?* (Exodus 14:15). The Bible portrays a cry of alarm to which God responds somewhat unsympathetically; *Midrash vaYosha* transforms the scene to one of uncontrollable weeping that evokes divine compassion. Rather than read God's question as rebuke, the midrashist essentially expounds: you do not even need to ask for help; it has been ready for you ever since the time Abraham offered his prayer before Me. Indeed, at the end of the trial, the midrash sets a prayer into the mouth of Abraham: "Master of the world, when in the future my children face difficulty, remember for them this moment that I stand before You."

In the medieval rabbinic imagination, tears frequently pierce the heavens and "stir Divine mercy."¹³ A midrash on the Book of Esther describes Haman hunting for Mordechai on the eve of the scheduled extermination of the Jews. Finding him in the house of study teaching twenty-two thousand children, Haman vows to execute these young ones first and then impale Mordechai on the stake. The children have been fasting and wearing sackcloth¹⁴ and at this news they begin to wail piteously; sounding like young lambs and kids in distress, their cries soar on high and God extends salvific mercy to the people in response (*Esther Rabbah* 9:4).¹⁵

Another medieval text envisions a more joyful weeping, albeit still tinged with pious anxiety. Recognizing the tragic lack of faith that led to

the golden calf, the Israelites all fast as Moses ascends the mountain a second time. They are intent that the evil inclination not overcome them again. On the fortieth day, they climb the mountain toward Moses, every one of them in tears—only to discover Moses weeping as well, coming down to meet them. This collective cry, too, ascends to heaven and stirs the mercies of the Holy One, who promises that day will forever become a day for tears of joy, a day of forgiveness and reconciliation: the Day of Atonement (*Eliyahu Zuta* 4).¹⁶

In both of these examples, as in *Midrash vaYosha*, tears are not the only requisite expression of piety. A long-established combination of fasting and symbols of affliction such as the wearing of sackcloth, study, prayer, and/or weeping represents the model of effective supplication before God in the face of crisis. Nonetheless, tears serve a special function. They are the evocative catalyst that finally spurs divine action, the irresistible claim on God's redemptive concern.

Beyond their capacity to evoke divine mercy, tears also contain mysterious bonding power: in the tale of Mordechai and his young charges, they pull God back into the story of Esther, a biblical text that surprises readers with its absolute silence on divine interest or involvement. The tears that empathically join Moses and the nation as he returns with additional Torah also link this day of reunion with the Day of Atonement, establishing access to God's mercies throughout history. *Midrash vaYosha*, too, presents tears that bind the generations: the children of Israel on the shore of the sea to Abraham at Mt. Moriah.

The connective capacity of crying in these medieval passages presents an early intuition of modern psychological theory, which understands tears as a mechanism for effecting and reflecting attachment. Behind all the proximate reasons an infant may cry (she is hungry, cold, startled, etc.), the ultimate purpose is to bring the caregiver near. Adults, too, weep in order to initiate and support attachment—not simply as emotional expression.¹⁷ Although it can be speculative to transfer meanings of tears across generations and cultures, Jewish literature has long demonstrated awareness of this fundamental human reflex pattern. The expanded parable of the dove in *Song of Songs Rabbah*, for instance, explicitly presents the Israelites' cries at the shore of the sea as an instinctive effort to draw God close.

Injecting young schoolchildren into the story of Esther similarly suggests tears as a mechanism of attachment; basic caregiving impulses prompt us to scoop up our young ones in our arms when they cry. God, commonly conceived in rabbinic literature as Father of every creature, cannot be immune. Even the weeping in Moses's reunion with the people expresses their longing for each other: the flock hungry for their shepherd's return, the teacher without purpose unless there is a community to embrace and embody his instruction.

The narrative link between Moses and Abraham in *Midrash vaYosha* illuminates a related phenomenon of attachment. There is a spiritual connection in which we understand each small fragment of existence to be

bound up with the whole, transcending time, space, and physical separation. In the religious imagination, God is the source of all being that enables such consciousness. Abraham's prayer on Mt. Moriah resounds amidst the din of weeping at the Reed Sea because it is an abiding remembrance in the mind of the Eternal, its salvific potential ripe for harvesting.

Romain Rolland once wrote to his friend, Sigmund Freud, that his theories of religion misconstrued the power of religious inspiration, "the oceanic feeling of limitless extension and oneness with the universe."¹⁸ "Oceanic" is an apt adjective for purposes of this study, since it is filled with salt water—the stuff of tears. Scholars frequently describe the boundary-crossing nature of crying: Tears come from the inside and show on the outside, or flow from within after being moved by something outside oneself. They are both response and stimulus, pouring through the membranes of the body and the distance between beings.¹⁹ As Judith Kay Nelson states in her introduction to an analysis of tears as a tool of attachment, "Crying, too, touches all the themes that bind us together in the totality of human experience. Crying, quite simply, has soul."²⁰

The bridge between Abraham, God, and the escaping Israelites is partially constructed of tears, for Moses and the people are not the only ones who cry; according to the continuation of *Midrash vaYosha*, Abraham and the angels weep as well. Time, space, and cosmic differentiation are all traversed by the connective tissue of tears, shaping a discourse between heaven and earth.

Before Abraham and the angels get swept up in soulful weeping, *Midrash vaYosha* offers an elaborate expansion of the *Akedah* (the Hebrew name for the Binding of Isaac, Genesis 22). The intervening series of events is worth summarizing even though it is a while before the tears reappear. Intuiting his father's intention en route to Moriah, Isaac is initially terrified, but affirms his commitment to fulfill the command of his creator. Satan, on the other hand, is intent on preventing it. In rabbinic culture, Satan functions much like his biblical counterpart, an angel of God who serves as the chief prosecutor and adversary of humanity. He approaches Abraham and Isaac individually with questions about their destination and intent, presenting some of the rational objections any modern reader might muster. He even attempts to confound Sarah. Each member of the family courageously resists his challenge, so Satan grows more desperate and turns himself into a raging river in an attempt to drown father and son. (With all the means of obstruction theoretically at Satan's disposal, it is interesting that the text elects to portray another type of gushing water.) As the river approaches their necks, Abraham reminds God of their announced role in the divine plan of history and God instructs Satan to dry up. Through none of this extended trial does anyone weep. When they finally arrive at Mt. Moriah and begin to build the altar, however, tears begin to flow.

III THE BRIDAL CANOPY

It is written: They arrived at the place of which God had told him. Abraham built an altar there; he laid out the wood; he bound his son Isaac; he laid him on the altar, on top of the wood (*Genesis 22:9*). *Abraham was building the altar while Isaac handed him the wood and the stones. Abraham was like a man building a bridal chamber for his son, and Isaac was like a man getting ready for the huppah, which one does joyfully.*

Isaac said, “Father, hasten to bare your arm and bind my hands and feet very well, since I am a young man, thirty-seven years old, and you are elderly. When I see the knife in your hand, I could startle from fear of the knife and kick you, for the spirit is rash. I do not wish to make a blemish on myself with the kick and be rendered unfit for the sacrifice.²¹ Please Father, just quickly do the will of your Owner and do not delay; roll up your garments and gird your loins. Burn me very well and take my ashes to Sarah, my mother. Let her set them in a chest in her room so she may tearfully be reminded of her son Isaac.”

Isaac went on, “Further, once you have slaughtered me and are separated from me, what will you say when you go to Sarah, my mother, and she asks, ‘How is Isaac, my son?’ And what will the two of you do in your old age?”

Abraham replied, “We know that after you, our days will be few. The One who comforted us before you were born will comfort us again after today.” Then he arranged the wood and bound him on top of the altar, on top of the wood. He flexed his arms, rolled up his garments, and set his two knees on top of him with great strength. The Blessed Holy One, may His name be praised, sitting on a throne high and exalted, saw how their two hearts were as one. Abraham shed tears that fell upon Isaac, and from Isaac they fell on to the wood, immersing it in tears.²²

And Abraham picked up the knife to slay his son (*Genesis 22:10*). The Blessed Holy One said to the ministering angels, “Have you seen how My beloved Abraham unifies My name in the world? If I had listened to you when you said during creation, ‘What is man that You are mindful of him, mortal man that You take note of him?’ (*Psalms 8:5*)—who would unify My name in this world like Abraham?”

Although the text describes father and son working with the joy one brings to constructing a marriage canopy, the tears begin to fall. At first, it is only Isaac imagining his mother’s tears when she is reminded of her beloved son. As Abraham mounts the altar to slaughter his son, however, in the moment that God sees how the hearts of the binder and the bound are one, Abraham begins to weep.²³ What sort of tears are these? Do they effect Isaac’s redemption by making the wood too wet to set ablaze? It does not appear that is their intent, even if it is the result.

Surely they reflect attachment. As tears fall onto Isaac, it seems that the young man may begin to cry as well, cementing the bond between father and son. In this fashion, *Midrash vaYosha* provides evidence of the relationship between them that seems sorely lacking in the biblical text. Where is the Abraham of Sodom and Gomorrah (Genesis 18) who argues with God over the destruction of a few possible innocents in the wicked cities? It has long troubled readers that he does not protest at all over the slaughter of his precious son.²⁴ The Genesis account is enigmatic. Perhaps the depth of relationship is revealed in Abraham's response to Isaac, "*I am here, my son,*" and in the repeated refrain, "*The two of them walked on together*" (Genesis 22:6–8). Perhaps the expected tears are deliberately inhibited in an effort to detach emotionally—the only way a father could fulfill this divine summons. In either event, the figure of silence is more than the midrash can bear, and it "transforms biblical reticence into narrative."²⁵

The narrative context of this weeping is also significant; the tearstained altar is constructed with the heart of a bridal canopy. In contemporary Western culture, people do frequently cry at weddings, a phenomenon arguably linked to issues of attachment—parents reluctant to let go, remembering (even reexperiencing) intimacy with the child growing up, celebrating their child's capacity to create sacred bonds with another, or recalling their own discovery of a life partner years ago. It is perhaps anachronistic to read textual clues to mean that Abraham's tears flow from similar associations. Nonetheless, it is intriguing to imagine that the moving exchange he has with Isaac about past and future prompts Abraham to reflect on the years of trial and blessing before Isaac even came into his and Sarah's lives.

If Isaac is the young man about to marry, who is his bride? It is the Blessed Holy One to whom Isaac will be forever wed in his sacrifice. Images of covenant as marriage between God and Israel trace back to the Bible: Hosea, Song of Songs, etc. Generally, however, God is the husband, the traditionally dominant role. Through this transposition of the metaphor, God is bound to the Binding of Isaac—not as supreme commander or even master of the house, but as beloved, with the tears also intimating discourse between heaven and earth. It is directly following God's reflection on the astounding unity of heart within this human family, after all, that the pathos of the scene is unleashed. In response, God declares to the angelic host profound attachment to Abraham, by itself warranting the creation of humanity. Consummation of this marriage to Isaac would be violent and terrible, but somehow still a testament to intimacy and relationship.

Tragically, many such marriages did take place in the Jewish community during the Middle Ages, granting the metaphor historical reality and transformative power. Jewish communities that were attacked during the Crusades found the image of the sacrificial bridal canopy compelling, as countless martyrs gave their lives to God in order to avoid sin and apostasy. Even those given no choice endured their sacrifice with pious courage, wed unto God for eternity. Shalom Spiegel suggests that the literature borrows

from life, and presents a chronicle in which a well-established Jewish leader of Cologne, Judah bar Abraham, slays his son and daughter-in-law to protect them from the much more brutal deaths awaiting them at the hands of the Crusaders in 1096. Judah is quoted as saying, “Behold now this bridal canopy I make today for my daughter, the bride”—as he kisses her and throws her out the window.²⁶ The portion of the midrash originally crafted in Ashkenaz in the eleventh or twelfth century as an explication of the Binding of Isaac (before being grafted into *Midrash vaYosha*) is likely responding to these catastrophic events as well.

The Crusades and other periodic uprisings against the Jews in medieval Christian Europe inspired a number of liturgical poems (*piyyutim*) that invoke Genesis 22. The image of a father required to slaughter his own son took on ominous significance; it was one of the few times in history that Jews killed themselves and their families as acts of piety. Even in instances where the butchery was carried out directly by the Crusaders, the narrative of Abraham and Isaac remained provocative. A twelfth-century poem by Rabbi David bar Meshullam beseeches, “O God, do not silence the shedding of my blood,” as it describes women and children preparing for death in the language of *akedah*—binding. Precisely at the dramatic point when the acrostic structure moves from an alphabetical sequence to a series of stanzas spelling out the poet’s name,²⁷ blood and tears flow in absolute devotion and make their claim:

The tears well up and stream from every side,
The slaughtered and the slaughterers pile groans upon each other,
The blood of fathers laps against the blood of sons
As they howl their benediction over slaughter, *Hear O Israel!*²⁸

... Has it ever been heard or ever been seen,
Who can believe so astounding a thing?
They lead their children to slaughter as to a beautiful bridal canopy,
About this can You be silent, O Exalted Divinity?²⁹

Inexplicably, the discourse seems to be cut short, with no empathic response from the heavens and no deliverance. As lamented in an anonymous *piyyut*:

O Lord, Mighty One, dwelling on high!
Once, over one *Akedah*, Ariels cried out before You.
But now how many are butchered and burned!
Why over the blood of children did they not raise a cry?³⁰

Of course, it is only an exegetical tradition that the angels protest, but it is real enough to medieval Jewry to make the celestial silence they experience unbearable. As a fundamental principle, God is expected to answer the cries of the faithful.

IV DISCOURSE BETWEEN HEAVEN AND EARTH

. . . At that moment, the ministering angels wept bitterly. And what did they say? "Highways are desolate, wayfarers have ceased; a covenant has been renounced (Isaiah 33:8). Where is the reward of those who welcome guests? For Abraham would bring inside his home all the guests that came from every place, give them food and drink, and accompany them on their way. What reward has Abraham taken? A covenant has been renounced, the covenant has been renounced which You made with him, saying: It is through Isaac that offspring shall be continued for you (Genesis 21:12), and My covenant I will maintain with Isaac (Genesis 17:21)—and here, the knife is at his throat!"

The ministering angels wept, and their tears fell upon the knife so that it no longer had any power over Isaac's neck. But then his soul took flight. The Blessed Holy One said to Michael, "Why are you just standing there? Don't let him slaughter him!"

Then Michael called out to Abraham, saying, "Abraham, Abraham!" And he answered, "Here I am" (Genesis 22:11). Why did he call him twice?³¹ Because Abraham was rushing and the angel yelled out like a man in distress who says, "Hey you. Hey you! What are you doing?! Do not raise your hand against the boy, or do anything to him" (Genesis 22:12).

Abraham said to the angel, "The Blessed Holy One told me to do it, and you are telling me, 'Don't slaughter him.' To whose words do we listen, to the words of the teacher or the words of a student?" Just then, the angel of the Lord called to Abraham a second time from heaven, and said, "By Myself I swear, the Lord declares: Because you have done this and not withheld your son, your only one, I will bestow My blessing upon you and make your descendants as numerous as the stars of heaven and the sands on the seashore, and your descendants shall seize the gates of their foes" (Genesis 22:15–17).

Then Abraham let him be and Isaac's soul returned to him; he stood up and recited a blessing: "Praised are You, who revives the dead." At that point, Abraham lifted up his eyes to heaven and said, "Master of the world, when my children face difficulty, remember for them this moment that I stand before You."

Another *piyyut* of medieval martyrology invokes a similar midrashic elaboration of the Binding of Isaac. Its author, Rabbi Ephraim ben Jacob of Bonn, was stirred to write in response to the massacres of Jews during the Second Crusade (1146), which transpired when he was thirteen years old. Close reading of the profoundly gapped biblical text reveals a critical lacuna that underlies these interweavings of text and experience; the Bible does not mention Isaac ever leaving the scene of the sacrifice. While explanations abound in the history of Jewish exegesis, the prevailing interpretation during this traumatic period is the dreadful thought that the slaughter

is fulfilled. Like the redactor of *Midrash vaYosha*, Rabbi Ephraim imagines that Isaac dies and is resurrected, but in his presentation the son is indeed sacrificed: “Full right was the slaughter.” After Isaac is revived, Abraham prepares to slay him a second time, but this the poet (and the angels) cannot abide. Schooled in the horrific violence against the Jewish community during the First Crusade, its unfathomable repetition must have confounded Rabbi Ephraim’s soul:

Down upon him fell the resurrecting dew, and he revived.
 (The father) seized him to slaughter him once more.
 Scripture, bear witness! Well-grounded is the fact:
And the Lord called Abraham, even a second time from heaven
 (Genesis 22:15).

The ministering angels cried out in terror:
 Even animal victims, were they ever slaughtered twice?
 Instantly they made their outcry heard on high,
Lo, Ariels cried out above the earth (Isaiah 33:7).

“We beg of Thee, have mercy upon him!
 We have broken bread in his father’s house.”
 A flood of celestial tears swept him
 Into Eden, the garden of God.³²

Both the midrash and the *piyyut* recall the angels who cry out in Isaiah 33; the texts place them at the *Akedah* and imagine that they produce actual tears that miraculously prevent the sacrifice. In the poet’s redemptive retelling, a flood of tears neither drowns Isaac nor mourns him, but rather rescues him from harm. The substance of the angelic protest is explicitly relational: “We have broken bread in his father’s house.” In *Midrash vaYosha*, Abraham’s tears are not filed protests in the moral economy; that role is taken up by the weeping angels who question the divine command: Where is the reward due to God’s pious ones? How can God not be faithful to divine promises? They may be moved to weep by the injustice, or by Abraham’s tears and his overpowering blend of resolve and reluctance. Whatever the stimulus, their heavenly tears dull or dissolve the knife so it has no power to harm Isaac. “Discourse” between heaven and earth again prompts celestial pathos that becomes salvific.

In these instances, it is not necessary to stir divine mercy; the angelic tears themselves have the potential to rescue Isaac from death. There are numerous folk traditions that envision healing tears, like those of the phoenix, but the angels’ weeping is prophylactic. In addition, these scenes of altars and Eden seem rooted more fully in Jewish imagery. Just as God’s words can manifest substance on earth, the celestial “discourse” of tears has a physical impact.

The motif of angels, even God, crying is not new in the Middle Ages. A text from Qumran represents “good angels” weeping at the prospect of Isaac’s sacrifice (Pseudo-Jubilees, 4Q225). The specific tradition of angelic tears dissolving the knife can be traced back to *Genesis Rabbah* 56:5, a fourth- to fifth-century rabbinic midrash.³³ Other historical and textual occasions prompt similar imagery; for example, *Lamentations Rabbah* interprets Jeremiah’s tears as God’s own in the face of the people’s tremendous suffering when Jerusalem is destroyed (1:45–46, 50–51). Rabbinic representation of divine empathy is a critical contribution to the portrait of God.³⁴

What is different in the texture of tears by the medieval period? Surely history affects reception of the theme; the crying that catalyzes attachment between Abraham, Isaac, and the heavenly spheres becomes perhaps more precious as a literary motif in light of recent experience in which the divine arm did not save. As illuminated by reader-response theory, the meaning of a text is not determined in the text itself, but rather in the actualization of it when it is read or heard.³⁵

Genre also shapes the warp and woof of literary weeping. Classic rabbinic literature collects multiple interpretations in order to present plural voices. Medieval exegetical narrative tends to cast those voices into different characters integrated in a single interpretation. This technique preserves the polyphonic character so intrinsic to Jewish exegesis, and provides a context to explore relationship between the figures. Thus the expanded narrative context of medieval exegesis presents the impact of tears as more relational than mechanical; crying is not simply a technique, literary or actual, to achieve the desired result. Instead, development of character and dialogue creates room for multilayered communication, the figures responding to each other in mutual and dynamic connection.

Mystical material preserves another discourse of weeping that reveals a similar evolution in the literary presentation of tears. Crying as spiritual practice for opening the gate to revelation traces back to late Second Temple Judaism and, over time, shifts from mechanistic to relational foundations. In 4 *Ezra*, the angel unfolds one set of mystical secrets and then promises that weeping, fasting, and prayer will induce an even greater vision, which indeed it does—twice. Another example, from *The Apocalypse of Baruch*, presents Jeremiah and his scribe as they mourn, weep, and fast for seven days, after which time they receive the word of God. The disciplines are presented as standard and the results expected.³⁶

A brief consideration of the thirteenth-century mystical midrash the *Zohar* and its sources reflects the shifts noted in the preceding: compounding layers of tears through expansion of the narrative, establishing more elaborate discourse and deeper relationship between heaven and earth. In the Babylonian Talmud (*Berachot* 59a), for instance, there is mention of a tradition that God sheds two tears into the Great Sea (usually understood as the Mediterranean) when calling to mind the affliction of the Jewish people in exile. The *Zohar* (2:9a) recounts the tradition, adding an interesting component: Rabbi Shimon bar Yohai, Rabbi Eleazar, and Rabbi

Abba observe a jet of fiery flame plunge into the Sea of Galilee, and Rabbi Shimon interprets it as the visible manifestation of these tears. Then, in symbolic mimesis, master and disciples weep together with God for the ongoing suffering of the nation. The encounter eventually culminates with Rabbi Shimon weeping yet again, receiving a vision, and sharing the agonizing revelation that the exile will persist.³⁷

These tears are not presented as ritualized practice. Nor should they be interpreted as a manifestation of simple attachment, drawing down divine concern in the form of revelation. In Eitan Fishbane's study of weeping in zoharic narrative, he argues that tears represent a change in the one who cries:

With a frequency that demands attention and inquiry, the zoharic characters engage in the *act of weeping* in the course of dramatic scenes of revelation. Time and again, as the protagonist of the narrative readies himself for the act of esoteric speech, he will pause from his stream of exclamatory rhetoric to weep before continuing with his discourse.³⁸

Fishbane believes tears serve as a structural marker in the psychological process of esoteric speech, one that resolves the tension between the necessity and peril of revealing divine secrets. The mystic has shifted his perspective and arrived at a new understanding. In this interpretation, weeping does not function mechanistically, prompting God to provide a vision. Rather, it is a signal from God that the mystic is ready to receive and to speak.

This concept can be applied to the conclusion of the zoharic narrative above, but the very specific way in which it fits the kabbalistic worldview is best illustrated by the following passage:

The old man (*Sava*) wept, and his tears fell upon his beard.
He said: *Sava*, weary in strength,
how wonderful are these tears upon your beard!
They are as wonderful as the goodly anointing oil
that would fall upon the good white beard of Aaron!
Speak your words, *Sava*,
for the Holy King is present. (*Zohar* 2:101b-102a)³⁹

The oil on Aaron's beard is an allusion to Psalm 133:2, which envisions this moment of the High Priest's anointing as one of unification and spiritual attainment. In the *Zohar*, the verse is understood as a metaphorical representation of the flow of divine emanation from the Godhead through the ten *sefirot* below, dripping down into the physical universe, as it were. Tears both stimulate the divine presence and indicate a change in the one who weeps.⁴⁰

There is a modern psychoanalytic metaphor that imagines this transformative power of tears. As Judith Kay Nelson describes:

Psychoanalyst Carl Jung looked to the alchemical process (the ancient quest to transmute base metals into gold) as a symbolic model for

psychic change. One part of the alchemical process called *solutio* involved dissolving the matter in its own water. . . . Weeping is analogous to an alchemical agent of transformation; *solutions* present themselves and life-energy begins to flow again after dissolving in tears of grief—our own “water,” our own wellspring.⁴¹

Nelson addresses the issue within the context of grief, and surely there is plenty of grief reflected in medieval Jewish literature, but the texts convey a richer texture for tears as agents of transformation: spiritual evolution, miraculous forces, communication between heaven and earth, sacred bonds that transcend time and space. These are not the cathartic tears recorded in literature from the time of Aristotle; instead they are tears as change agents.⁴²

Fishbane’s observation may also illuminate additional possibilities for the meaning of some tears in *Midrash vaYosha*. It does not particularly enhance the reading of Moses and the Israelites weeping at the sea. One can read Abraham’s weeping, however, as an indication that he has resolved the tension between his human bonds and transcendent commitments; the act of crying is what prepares him to offer up his son. His prayer at the end has prophylactic power because the tears that have “fallen into it” stream from this transformed vision.⁴³ More convincingly, the angels’ tears appear to mark a threshold. Once they weep, they are ready to stand apart from their role as faithful servants of God, ready to challenge their master on moral grounds. Even as a literary stand-in for human objections to the *Akedah*, they represent an authentic but daring religious posture over against divine authority and scriptural exemplum.

Weeping as personal transformation is not identical to the phenomenon of attachment that stimulates discourse between heaven and earth, yet they are related. Even without the theurgical imagination of medieval Jewish mysticism, the impact of the tears does not remain contained inside a single character. When we change *within relationship*, we change in response to the other and we draw nearer to each other. Fearful tears at the sea may stir divine mercy, but the soul-shaping tears of Abraham transform covenant. Derrida’s “*tout autre est tout autre*” (every Other is wholly Other) is not so absolute; a transformation of one partner impacts the other and advances the discourse between celestial and terrestrial realms.

These are not the only representations of weeping in medieval Jewish texts, which include a broad variety of tearful expression: regret and repentance, piety and devotion, pain and compassion. Yet they fashion a compelling and somewhat unique voice within the development of crying in medieval literature.

NOTES

1. Translations by the author from a fourteenth- to fifteenth-century manuscript, *Bibliothèque nationale de France* 716, folios 231v–235r. For the text in its entirety (Hebrew, English, and facsimile of the manuscript), see Rachel

- S. Mikva, "Midrash *vaYosha* and the Development of Narrative in Medieval Jewish Exegesis" (PhD diss., Jewish Theological Seminary, 2008).
2. See *Song of Songs Rabbah* 2.14.2. References to rabbinic literature, generally included in the body of the chapter, reflect a standard citation format locatable in any edition. Translations are by the author based on the Hebrew texts of Bar Ilan Responsa Project, version 17 (Ramat Gan: Bar Ilan University, 1972–2008). Many of the works are available in English for the nonspecialist.
3. The psalm, in turn, inspired later generations of imagination. Small bottles found buried in ancient grave sites were formerly identified as lachrymatories: vials for capturing tears as did God. Scholars currently reject the idea that they represented this purpose in antiquity, but the idea invented an industry. Tear bottles have been readily available for purchase since the Victorian era.
4. There are numerous additional examples, although most of them include some other element in addition to weeping to elicit divine favor (e.g., Hannah in 1 Samuel 1), or use terms for crying out that do not necessarily indicate tears. Translations in the chapter distinguish between explicit reference to tears (e.g., weep, cry, lament), and general exclamation of woe or alarm (e.g., cry out).
5. For a review of the transformative years between the Temple's destruction and the rise of rabbinic Judaism, several of the articles within Stephen Katz, ed., *The Cambridge History of Judaism*, vol. 4 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006) can be useful. See, for example, Robert Goldenberg, "The Destruction of the Jerusalem Temple: Its Meaning and Consequences," 191–205.
6. Also *b.Berakhot* 32b, although in a different context. The final redaction of the Babylonian Talmud was most likely during the seventh century, although many of its sources date to the earliest rabbinic sages of the Common Era. This tradition is brought in the name of a mid-second-century sage, and each assertion is accompanied by a proof-text: "Rabbi Eleazar said: Since the destruction of the Temple, the gates of prayer are locked, for it is written, *When I call out and plead, He shuts out my prayer* (Lamentations 3:8). Yet though the gates of prayer are locked, the gates of tears are not, for it is written, *Hear my prayer, O Lord, give ear to my cry; do not disregard my tears*" (Psalm 39:13). Nonetheless, the idea that the gates of prayer are locked is presumably a rhetorical flourish, since the Jewish liturgical tradition operates on a very different presumption.
7. A ritualized lament, currently embodied in the *tahanun* rubric of the daily service.
8. The *sugya* is a fascinating, complex exploration of the personal and cosmic consequences of weeping and wounded feelings, and it has inspired much scholarly discussion. See, e.g., Jeffrey Rubenstein, *Talmudic Stories: Narrative Art, Composition, and Culture* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), 34–64. In another useful study that sheds some light on the present discussion, Charlotte Fonrobert argues that the narrative should be read as mythopoesis, not Talmudic historiography. She also highlights the gendered aspects of crying in rabbinic literature, examined briefly in this chapter; see also "When the Rabbi Weeps: On Reading Gender in Talmudic Aggadah," *Nashim* 4 (2001): 58.
9. See, e.g., "Function of Ritual Weeping," 214, 242–244.
10. Herbert Basser, "Weeping in Jewish Sources," in *Holy Tears: Weeping in the Religious Imagination*, ed. Kimberley Christine Patton and John Stratton Hawley, 198 n. 20 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005). He argues that the meaning of crying itself may not change so dramatically, but the socially constructed literary portrayals of tears (and their interpretations)

do. Nehemiah Polen offers a chapter in the same volume, "Sealing the Book with Tears: Divine Weeping on Mt. Nebo and in the Warsaw Ghetto" (83–93), that observes the compelling embrace of divine pathos in classical rabbinic literature and among teachers of Hasidism. He posits that one unique role of tears in Judaism is as a tool in the creative process of Torah.

11. Brief references describe cathartic effects of crying in infants. See, e.g., Bahya Ibn Pakuda's (eleventh-century) *Chovot haLevavot* [Duties of the Heart], "Gate of Discernment," chap. 5, which discusses an ill humor that collects in the brain and is dissolved by weeping.
12. For one redaction of the separate midrash on Genesis 22, see Michael Higger, *Halakhot va'aggadot* [Law and Lore] (Jerusalem: Makor, 1970), 69–73.
13. The term appears once in classical rabbinic literature, *Lamentations Rabbah Proem* 24, after Rachel posthumously weeps for the children of Israel in exile.
14. Presumably in accordance with Esther's request that the Jews of Shushan fast alongside her as she prepares to approach the king to intercede on behalf of her people.
15. The oldest passages of *Esther Rabbah* were likely redacted in the sixth or seventh century, but a significant amount of material dates from the eleventh century.
16. *Eliyahu Zuta* is one section of *Tanna d'bei Eliyahu*, redacted in the tenth century.
17. Judith Kay Nelson, *Seeing through Tears* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 16, 23. See also John Bowlby, *Attachment* (New York: Basic Books, 1969).
18. As cited in Arthur Koestler, *The Act of Creation* (New York: MacMillan, 1964), 273.
19. See, e.g., Ebersole, "Function of Ritual Weeping," 229; Basser, "Weeping in Jewish Sources," 185.
20. Nelson, *Seeing through Tears*, xi.
21. Once it is established that Isaac is just as committed to the sacrifice as his father, the question may arise why he needs to be bound at all. This dialogue offers an answer. The motif is found with different phrasing in *Genesis Rabbah* 56:8; *Targum Yerushalmi*, *Fragment-Targums Genesis* 22:9–10; *Pirque Rabbi Eliezer* 31.
22. The manuscript may contain an error, as the grammar is not consistent with the wood (plural) being immersed (singular) in tears. Other manuscripts and printed versions state that it is the knife or the altar that is drowned in tears.
23. Similar to the sequence in *b. Baba Metzia* 59a, the text first presents an imagined stereotypical weeper, a woman, making the subsequent and actual emotional outpouring of the man more rhetorically powerful. Earlier rabbinic midrash also portrays Abraham in tears at the altar; see, e.g., *Genesis Rabbah* 56:8.
24. It is not the first Jewish exegesis to be troubled by Abraham's silence. *Genesis Rabbah* 39:9 transforms the oddly redundant command, "Take your son, your only one, the one whom you love, Isaac" (Genesis 22:2) into a dialogue, "reinserting" Abraham's voice in between each phrase and inventing his protest: "Take your son." "But I have two sons." "Your only one." "Each one is an only son unto his mother," etc.
25. Joshua Levinson, "Dialogical Reading in the Rabbinic Exegetical Narrative," *Poetics Today* 25, no. 3 (2004): 508. Since the story "simultaneously represents and interprets its biblical counterpart," the reader is expected to navigate between the biblical and the midrashic narratives, recognizing the third story that is narrated between them. It is comprised of questions raised

by the biblical text but frequently left unspoken, omitted details and roads not taken.

26. The chronicle is that of Shlomo b. Shimon, and the text (Hebrew) can be found in Adolf Neubauer, Moritz Stern, and Seligmann Baer, *Hebräische Berichte über die Judenverfolgungen während der Kreuzzüge* (Berlin: Simion, 1892), 20. There are numerous examples: Regarding the martyrs of Blois killed in reaction to a blood libel (1171), Rabbi Hillel ben Jacob composed: "And when it was said, 'Bring them out to the fire,' they rejoiced together as a bride at the bridal canopy. 'It is for us to praise,' they recited, their souls filled with longing." "It is for us to praise" is the beginning of a standard liturgical doxology recited at the close of every communal worship service. Shalom Spiegel, *The Last Trial*, trans. Judah Goldin (New York: Behrman House, 1979), 135–137.
27. Acrostic patterns can be found within biblical poetry. The tradition of signing one's work by spelling out the poet's name in the first letters of the final stanzas is a later development.
28. Deuteronomy 6:4, "*Hear O Israel, the Lord is our God, the Lord alone*" is not actually the standard blessing for ritual slaughter, but rather the traditional declaration of faith recited by Jews just before the moment of death.
29. Heinrich Brody, *Mivhar haShirah haIvrit* [Selection of Hebrew Poetry] (Leipzig: Insel-Verlag, 1922), 221. An English translation of significant portions of the *piyyut* is available in T. Carmi, ed. and trans., *The Penguin Book of Hebrew Verse* (New York: Penguin Books, 2006), 374–375; or Alan Mintz, *Hurban: Responses to Catastrophe in Jewish Literature* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1996), 94–95. The translation here is adapted from Carmi. In the final verse, David bar Meshullam invokes the protective power traditionally assigned to Abraham and Isaac's faithful act; he presumes its merit has somehow been spent but prays that these countless summated offerings will save the people.
30. "I shall speak in the grief of my spirit," as cited in Spiegel, *Last Trial*, 20. Other motifs of the midrash are also found in *piyyutim*, e.g., "How the outcry of the children rises! Trembling, they see their brothers slain. The mother binds her son lest he be blemished as he startles, the father makes a blessing before slaughtering the sacrifice" (*ibid.*, 21).
31. A line is missing in this manuscript, but is well attested in numerous others.
32. Collected in Abraham M. Haberman, *Piyyutei Rabbi Ephraim ben Yaakov miBona* [The Liturgical Poems of Rabbi Ephraim ben Yaakov of Bona] (Tel Aviv: Schocken, 1968), 50–51. The translation borrows in part from Spiegel, *Last Trial*, 149–150, where the English of the entire *piyyut* can be found. Both the midrash and the *piyyut* present Abraham as resistant to cancellation of the divine summons, as if it is difficult to draw back from the abyss. Such a bewildering exegesis is justified by reading the two angelic speeches as somehow redundant, thus requiring differentiation. Through this logic, the second angelic pronouncement comes after Isaac has already died and Abraham must still be persuaded to cease.
33. In *Genesis Rabbah* 56:7, the knife is dissolved by angels' tears and Genesis 22:12 is read with deliberate hyper-literalness: *Do not lay your hand upon the boy* (since there is no longer any weapon). Moshe Bernstein offers an analysis of various midrashic traditions associated with the role of angels in this scene, "Angels at the Aqedah: A Study in the Development of a Midrashic Motif," *Dead Sea Discoveries* 7, no. 3 (2000): 263–291.
34. Medieval Jewish philosophy demonstrates discomfort with attributing emotions to God, but the theme is sustained within midrash of the period and the emerging literature of kabbalah. For further discussion of divine pathos, see

- Robert Kirschner, "Apocalyptic and Rabbinic Responses to the Destruction of 70," *Harvard Theological Review* 78, no. 1–2 (1985): 39–42; Michael Fishbane, *The Exegetical Imagination* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 22–40.
35. See, for instance, Wolfgang Iser, *The Act of Reading* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), 18.
 36. The motif can be found in Christian and Sufi mysticism as well, and crying is a historically established mystical technique in most traditions. See Margaret Smith, *The Way of the Mystics* (London: Sheldon Press, 1976), 91–92, 155ff.; Paul Fenton, "Judaism and Sufism," in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Jewish Philosophy*, ed. Daniel Frank and Oliver Leaman, 201–217 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).
 37. See Daniel Matt, trans., *The Zohar* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 2007), 4:34–35. Reading the text can be confusing in terms of chronology; it presents itself pseudepigraphically as the teaching of Shimon bar Yohai, a second-century rabbi—even though it is the work of Moshe de Leon in the thirteenth century. Thus the reference to God's tears in the sea is not presented as a citation from the Talmud (final redaction ca. seventh century), but it should be understood as such.
 38. Eitan Fishbane, "Tears of Disclosure: The Role of Weeping in Zoharic Narrative," *Journal of Jewish Thought and Philosophy* 11, no. 1 (2002): 28–29.
 39. *Ibid.*, 32.
 40. Moshe Idel discusses theurgical weeping, designed to stimulate the flow of divine tears in *Kabbalah: New Perspectives* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1980), 75–88.
 41. Nelson, *Seeing through Tears*, 198.
 42. Aristotle briefly discusses catharsis of fear and pity in [Chapter 6](#) of his *Poetics* (and less famously in *Politics*, chap. 8). For dramatic models, he generally relies on Homer and on three tragedians of antiquity whose work frequently affects catharsis through tears: Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides. There certainly are literary representations of tears as catharsis in medieval Jewish literature, including Rabbi Moses ibn Ezra's poem, "In the Night": "For tears my burden seem to lighten best, Could I but weep my heart's blood, I might rest" (trans. Emma Lazarus, www.medievalhebrewpoetry.org/mosesibnez-ranewselection.html, accessed August 6, 2010).
 43. The captivating image of tears falling into prayers comes from another medieval mystical text, Joseph ben Abraham Gikatilla's *Shaarei Ora* [Gates of Light] (Jerusalem: Mosad Bialik, 1980), 1:140.

Part III

Tears and Narrative

9 The Shedding of Tears in Late Anglo-Saxon England¹

Tracey-Anne Cooper

Recent years have seen a burgeoning of scholarly interest in the history of emotions, and, with it, in the history of tears.² Much of the ongoing examination of tears in the medieval milieu, however, has concentrated on accounts in the literature, hagiography, and art of the high and late Middle Ages, while scholars of the early Middle Ages (ca. 400–1050) have focused primarily on patristic or monastic texts, which seek to explicate or categorize tears in terms of Christian theology or practice.³ This disparity reflects the available evidence—the medieval period from the twelfth century onwards simply produced more texts with a greater focus on the emotional and religious life of individuals.⁴ We are left, however, with something of a gulf between theological ruminations on the purpose of pious tears in the Christian life from the first millennium and accounts of actual copious outpourings of holy tears from the first half of the second millennium. This chapter seeks to begin to bridge this gap, albeit in a small way, with a study of variety of texts from the last century of Anglo-Saxon England (ca. 966–1066) in which tears are reported as having been shed. This period saw a revival of Benedictine monasticism and a proliferation of writing in both Latin and Old English across many genres, including poetry, homilies, chronicles, penitentials, confessional directives, and hagiography, which have never before been studied comparatively for their references to tears. Despite the scarcity of these references, two broad points can be made here. First, contrary to what the idiom of heroic poetry might lead us to believe, tears, as described in historical chronicles, seem to have been an expected response to highly emotional or religious stimuli in both men and women. As reports of the shedding of tears were still something of a rarity in the Anglo-Saxon milieu, where they do occur authors often use them, with an unanticipated degree of deftness and deliberateness, to alert their audiences to the profound significance of the situation they were describing, and to signal that the event was particularly noteworthy or that the weeper was especially praiseworthy. A second, and related, point is that the appearance of tears in homiletic texts and Christian poetry is also configured as part and parcel of religious discourse; the monks responsible for these texts adopted and adapted patristic theology as the foundation for their

ideas about pious tears that could transcend the boundaries of heavenly and earthly realms, acting as a conduit between man and the divine.

TEARS IN SECULAR TEXTS: HEROIC POETRY AND CHRONICLES

While some Old English poems, like *Beowulf*, portray an imagined pagan past, others are more specifically concerned with Christian themes such as saint's lives and Judgment Day. Nearly all the extant Old English poetry, whether pagan themed or Christian themed, is anonymous, and most poems were written down by monks in manuscripts in the last century of Anglo-Saxon England. Thus, although the time and nature of the original composition of individual poems is a matter of ongoing debate, what is important for our survey here is that their manuscript contexts place them as having currency in the late Anglo-Saxon period.⁵ The pagan-themed poems anachronistically gender the shedding of tears, which was especially disdained in men who must keep their emotions inside, and was ritualized in women for the purposes of funeral lamentations.

The anonymous elegiac poem *The Wanderer* serves well to demonstrate the heroic male reserve. It was probably authored during the throes of the English Benedictine Reform movement 960–990 and is included in the Exeter Book, the largest extant collection of Old English poetry, which was presented to the cathedral clerks by their new bishop, Leofric, in 1050.⁶ The unnamed central character of the poem dubbed by modern scholars “The Wanderer” is a desperate man, whose life is in ruins, but he weeps not. He cuts a pitiful figure; deprived of lord and protection, hearth and happiness, he roams the seaways alone searching for a new lord, and lamenting the vagaries of fate and transitory existence. Yet, from the first his speech tells us not only that his complaint is useless, but that he, himself, essentially sees it as inappropriate:

I know, to be sure, that it is an excellent virtue in a man that he should bind fast his bosom and lock up the treasury of his thoughts, let him think as he wishes. A weary mind cannot resist fate, nor can rueful thought afford help.⁷

The narrator makes a specifically gendered statement—*þæt biþ in eorle indryhten þeaw*—*eorle* meaning not just “earl,” but more generally “a brave man, warrior, leader or chief,” and definitively male.⁸ We see this masculine emotional reserve played out in the heroic poem *Beowulf*, too: at the funeral of Scyld it is said of his thanes (retainers) that “Their spirit was melancholy, their heart *grieving within* them”⁹; and when Grendel’s mother attacks in vengeance for her son’s death and kills Aschere, it is said that she had gone too far “as it may seem to many a thane who, in cruel affliction of spirit, *weeps in his heart* for that treasure giver.”¹⁰ Men

must keep their grief inside, but women, in the heroic culture described in *Beowulf*, have more opportunity to mourn outwardly, although this seems to have been permissible only in highly ritualized lamentations for the dead at funerals.¹¹ When Hildeburh attends the funeral pyre of her brother and son, we are told, “The woman grieved and keened her lament.”¹² At Beowulf’s own funeral pyre, “A Geatish woman, with tresses bound up, sang a melancholy tale.”¹³ Such feminine ritualized laments are purposeful, not spontaneous; they are an organized and controlled release of emotion, not a chaotic and uncontrolled response—although, presumably, no less heartfelt.¹⁴ The female ritual lament and the male stoicism are, however, archaicisms in the late Anglo-Saxon milieu, representative not of contemporary customs and practices, but of an imagined pre-Christian past. It is important to remember that both *Beowulf* and *The Wanderer*, although they were written down in a Christian milieu around the end of the first millennium, depict an older era. We do not expect late Anglo-Saxon funerals to mirror the distant past, nor should we expect the gendered disparity in tears that we see in these archaicizing poems to match contemporary customs.

While in the idiom of heroic poetry, which depicts the pagan world, weeping, to borrow from Kimberley Christine Patton and John Stratton Hawley, “is susceptible to parsing along gendered lines,” in other genres of text, such as chronicles and historical narratives of the period, men—indeed, entire nations—weep copiously, in mourning or at parting.¹⁵ The anonymous Flemish author of the *Encomium Emmae Reginae*, which honors Queen Emma of Normandy (ca. 985–1052), who was queen to both Æthelred the Unready of England (1002–1016) and Cnut, king of England, Denmark, and Norway (1017–1035), seems to have regarded masculine tears as an appropriate display. When King Cnut met with his brother, Harald, after their father’s death, the two were not ashamed to embrace and cry; there were “[t]ears shed partly for love, and partly for their father’s death, [which] moistened the neck of each, and when these were scarcely dry the exchange of words brought on more.”¹⁶ These were battle-hardened and often ruthless men, but there was no apparent censure of their tearful display, and it is important to remember that tears are a display, an external and visible manifestation of internal and invisible emotion. Diane Apostolos-Cappadona argues that “the exteriority of tears connotes one message to the viewers of the tearful individual while the interiority denotes a different message to the person engaged in the act of shedding tears” and that “the viewer of another’s tears responds with empathy, embarrassment, helplessness, or disdain.”¹⁷ The *Encomiast* (the term modern scholars use to refer to the author of the *Encomium Emmae*) is certainly not trying to evoke feelings of embarrassment or disdain in his audience, nor does it seem that the kings expect any kind of rebuke for their public lachrymation. Their tears do not unman them: they feel and they weep without public shame or cultural emasculation.

The Encomiast, however, is also using the brothers' tears here to signal their strong mutual affection and family bond, and this is not without political overtones. Although other sources claim that Harald was the older brother, the Encomiast informs us that Cnut had that honor.¹⁸ Their father, Swein Forkbeard, king of Denmark, successfully conquered England in 1013, driving the English king Æthelred into exile in Normandy, only to die five weeks later leaving a muddled succession. While the Danish army who were with Cnut in England chose him as their leader, the Danes back in Denmark chose Harald. In the meantime, the English recalled Æthelred from Normandy and Cnut returned to Denmark. The brothers certainly had some thorny issues to work out: according to the Encomiast, Cnut suggested joint-rule, but Harald declined and claimed that he had inherited Denmark, while Cnut had inherited the now lost England, but he did give Cnut the command of forces for another conquest of England.¹⁹ Upon his reconquest Cnut was crowned King of England and upon Harald's death in 1018–1019, he journeyed back to Denmark to become king there as well. By informing the reader of the heartfelt tearful reunion of the two brothers, the Encomiast is indicating a lack of animosity and the continuance of fraternal affection and respect. Moreover, although Cnut had, according to the Encomiast, the greater claim to both Denmark and England, he chose a peaceable route and yet ended up with both kingdoms. By stressing Cnut's tears and thereby emphasizing that the king's mourning was greater than his greed, the Encomiast cultivates, as he seeks to do throughout the *Encomium*, the perception of Cnut as a reasonable monarch.

It is necessary to place Cnut's tears within the wider context of demonstrative behavior as part of political communication in the late Anglo-Saxon world. Julia Barrow has shown that one facet of such communications were tearful petitions, which, "especially if they were accompanied by protestation, could be effective, provided they were carried out among friends."²⁰ King Edmund (939–946), for example, had a brush with death when the stag he was chasing leapt over a cliff; his hounds followed and he feared his horse would do likewise. In that instant he swore that if he were spared he would install St. Dunstan, with whom he had previously had a rift, as Abbot of Glastonbury. When he survived he went at once to Glastonbury Abbey, and we are told by the author of the *Vita Sancti Dunstan* that the king made his petition there, accompanied by the demonstrative outpouring of floods of tears, to have Dunstan made abbot.²¹ Likewise, according to author of the *Vita Oswaldi* written around 1000, a similar tearful petition was made in comparable circumstances by Æthelwine, Ealdorman of East Anglia (d. 992), and his sons, who requested the election of one Germanus as abbot of Ramsey: they prostrated themselves before the altar of St. Benedict and made a tearful obeisance to the abbey's monks.²² Both King Edmund and Ealdorman Æthelwine were breaking protocol by suggesting a candidate for abbacies, for by rights the election of a new abbot was within the community's purview—but a tearful demonstrative

behavior excused their lay presumption. It also served the purposes of those who recorded the two incidents: by commenting on (or embroidering) the extraordinary circumstance of the tearful petition, they avoided setting a dangerous new precedent of lay investment. Tears, it seems, greased the wheels of politics: in the case of King Edmund and Ealdorman Æthelwine, weeping made irregular petitions possible, and in the case of Cnut and Harald, it made political meetings and ensuing decisions less volatile.

Tears, thus, remain enough of a rarity in the Anglo-Saxon historical narratives that they often signal an allusion to some larger meaning to which the reader or hearer should pay attention. The *Encomiast* uses Cnut's tears when he met his brother to tell us that, despite possibly being disinherited, he was peaceable and Providence rewarded him in the end. The *Encomiast* also highlights the pious humility with which Cnut gave rich gifts to the monasteries he visited on his way to, and in, Rome in 1027, and he makes much of the king's tearful display:

When he [Cnut] had entered the monasteries, and had been received with great honour, he advanced humbly, and with complete concentration prayed for the intercession of the saints in a manner wonderfully reverent, fixing his eyes upon the ground, and freely pouring forth, so to speak, rivers of tears. But when the time came when he desired to heap the holy altars with royal offerings, how often did he first with tears press kisses on the pavement, how often with self-inflicted blows punish that revered breast, what signs he gave, how often did he pray that the heavenly mercy might not be displeased with him.²³

To modern, skeptical sensibilities such an extreme outward display of piety may seem overdone and ostentatious, and this has led some historians to speculate that Cnut had something very particular about which to feel remorse, such as the recent sanctuary-violating murder of his brother-in-law, Ulf.²⁴ The *Encomiast*, however, attached to it no overtone of specific shame and has, rather, made as great a virtue of the king's display of tears as of his pious gift-giving. Indeed, the *Encomiast* holds Cnut's actions up as a model for future rulers:

Therefore let kings and princes learn to imitate the actions of this lord, who lowered himself to the depths that he might be able to climb to the heights, and who cheerfully gave earthly things so that he might be able to obtain heavenly ones.²⁵

The *Encomiast's* report of Cnut's tears thus indicates virtue rather than guilt, but what would Cnut's contemporaries have made of the king's copious tears? Were they virtuous simply because they were a ritualized norm attached to penance in the late Anglo-Saxon period? Or did the virtue of this tearful display lie in a praiseworthy spontaneity? Would this

outpouring of overwhelming religious emotion be seen as proof of Cnut's sincere piety or his acquiescence to expected behavior? The answer, I believe, lies in contemporary penitential directives, which contain very few references to ritualized tears of contrition. In the twenty-four confessional directives that occur in an eleventh-century manuscript (London, BL, MS Cotton Tiberius A. iii), twenty-three do not mention tears.²⁶ One of these confessional directives describes all the actions of a deeply penitent man, which include being unarmed and as poor as a pilgrim, fasting, keeping vigil, praying until he is weary, not cutting his hair or nails, not bathing or sleeping in a soft bed, not eating meat or becoming drunk. The deeply penitent man is not, however, according to this confessional directive, obliged to shed a single tear.²⁷ Instead, the overwhelming focus of these confessional directives was to tell the confessor not to judge all penitents alike, but rather take individual status and circumstances into account, and above all seek the genuine contrition of the *inweardre heort* ("inward-heart").²⁸ In other words, the confessor was not to use a standardized penitential, because the only effective method of shriving was to persuade the penitents to genuinely examine and rectify their actions while they were still able:

[Y]ou who guard against all this and love your Lord with all your spirit and with all vigor and valor and is always steadfast in the inward heart, is kind to all poor men and all peaceful men and eagerly gives alms and eagerly goes to church and eagerly gives tithes to God's church . . . you may then rule with him in all the world without end.²⁹

Such a position would not seem to allow for standardized one-size-fits-all rituals, in which tears were a matter of course. The only text among the twenty-four confessional directives in Cotton Tiberius A.iii that mentions tears is the *Order of Confession*, attributed in the text to St. Jerome, which states: "First of all, let him prostrate himself humbly on the ground in the sight of God, pouring forth prayers and tears."³⁰ In addition, one vague reference to something that may or may not be penitential weeping is made in the pseudo-Bedeian penitential of the eighth century, in which confession is said to be for those who "repent of and bewail their passions and vices."³¹ Yet, both the pseudo-Bedeian penitential and the pseudo-Jeromeian confessional were already quite old by the late Anglo-Saxon period, and moreover seem to be out of step with the current practice that was outlined in the confessional directives of Cotton Tiberius A. iii, which did not even condone the use of a penitential.³² We can conclude, therefore, that what was desired was a genuine contrition in which ritual tears had no place. Instead, tears were only praiseworthy when they welled up spontaneously as a response to profound religious experience. The Encomiast's account of Cnut's tears shed during pilgrimage, therefore, is meant to depict a deeply pious king rather than a simply penitent one.

Cnut's tears had a praiseworthy spontaneity, and this spontaneous shedding of tears when confronted by a profound religious experience is also reported in one of his prominent thanes, Tovi the Proud, in *The Waltham Chronicle*. This chronicle relates the story of the miraculous discovery of a buried stone cross, which was dug up on Tovi's land in Montacute.³³ When Tovi first beheld the ancient stone cross, he uttered a general prayer of devotion. He then gave the order that metal plates should be nailed to the cross but it started to bleed where the nails penetrated; the bleeding prompted Tovi to pray on his hands and knees, and this time his prayers were accompanied by tears.³⁴ The chronicler here is relating a praiseworthy and spontaneous sign of piety and virtue in the proximity to the holy, not a pre-scripted shedding of ritualized tears.

Not only do individual kings and thanes cry without censure when inspired by highly emotional or religious stimuli, but the chronicles also record the weeping of whole nations—men and women alike—when rulers die. In the *Encomium Emmae*, when King Edmund dies, "The dead prince . . . was buried in the royal tomb, and was wept long and sorely by the native people."³⁵ The account suggests that Edmund had been a popular king and the tears of his people welled up from a surfeit of human emotion at a collective loss. It is not surprising, however, that the *Encomiast* reports an even greater abundance of tears when Cnut dies. The tears shed for Cnut, however, have properties that go beyond worldly mourning and are able to connect, metaphorically or literally, the earthly and heavenly realms:

The Lady Emma, his queen, mourned together with the natives, poor and rich lamented together, the bishops and the clerics wept with the monks and the nuns, but let the rejoicing in the kingdom of heaven be as great as the mourning in the world! These wept for what they had lost, but let those rejoice over his soul, which they take to themselves.³⁶

This report of the admixed tears of mourning on earth and rejoicing in Heaven at Cnut's passing alludes to the transcendent property of a certain type of "holy" tears; they dissolve and blur the boundaries between this world and the next. Though the weepers are unable to articulate in words their surfeit of emotion, they become able to reach a fluidity of state wherein their natural "this-worldly" tears reach out momentarily and touch the otherworldly.

TEARS IN RELIGIOUS TEXTS: CHRISTIAN POETRY AND HOMILY

The otherworldly properties of tears—their ability to articulate the ineffable to the unknowable—are, quite understandably, to be found more often in the Christian poetry and homilies than in historical narratives.³⁷ In these

texts tears are used to define the two unchangeable locations of the after-life: the continual and eternal weeping in Hell, contrasted with Heaven's joyful and tearless praising of God. Indeed, while one is still alive true tears of compunction can help the wretched sinner avoid the former and bring them closer to the joys of the latter, but while there is room for lachrymal negotiation between the human and the divine, the tearful intercession of the saints frequently becomes necessary.

Among the more striking examples of weeping in Hell is a tenth-century piece of Old English homiletic prose, which has been titled by modern scholars *The Devil's Account of the Next World*: "Woe to them that shall have their dwelling place with us in hell, where is weeping without comfort, slavery without freedom, sorrow without joy."³⁸ The reasons for such weeping are described in the poem *Christ III* from the Exeter Book, which forms the last part of an eschatological triad concerned with the Second Coming of Christ and Judgment Day. Surprisingly, it is neither the tortures of Hell nor the ignominy of being exposed as a sinner that make the sinners weep, but rather their knowledge that they will never achieve the bliss of Heaven:

Then there will be the third cause for sorrow in those destitute, the plaintive anguish that they see the innocent, how gladly they rejoice because of the good works which they, unhappy and weeping sorely over their works because they had freely done wrong before, had formerly disdained to do while their days lasted. They will see their betters shine in splendor.³⁹

They weep for the wrongs they committed that they can no longer undo, and also because they see others, who led better lives, shining resplendently in eternal bliss. Here, the tearful eye acts almost as a spyglass between these two extremes, enabling weeping sinners to glimpse that which they have relinquished because of their sinful actions while alive: the complete opposite of their own experience—the wonders of tear-free Heaven. For example, in the anonymous poem *Phoenix*, also from the Exeter Book, Heaven is defined as the absence of weeping: "There in that land is no loathsome foe, no weeping or anguish, nor sign of woe."⁴⁰

The tears of the afterlife have a theological correlation with the tears of the living, who have the opportunity to influence their own eternal fate through weeping. Pope Gregory the Great, who was regarded by the Anglo-Saxons as the founder of the English Church, and who was, thus, a very important theological source throughout the Anglo-Saxon period, demonstrates the connection between tears and spiritual enlightenment thus:

For there are two kinds of compunction, as you know: one that is afraid of eternal pains, the other that sighs for heavenly rewards; since the soul that is thirsty for God is first moved to compunction by fear, and

afterwards by love. For in the first place it is affected to tears because, while recollecting its evil doings, it fears to suffer for them eternal punishments. But, when fear has died away in the anxiety of a long sorrow, a certain security has birth from a sense of pardon; and the mind is enflamed with love of heavenly joys. And one who previously wept for fear of punishment begins afterwards to weep most bitterly for being kept back from the kingdom.⁴¹

Gregory's ideas obviously inform the theology of the prolific late Anglo-Saxon homilist Ælfric of Eynsham (955–1010):

First he dreads the punishment of hell, and weeps for his sins, after he has accepted God's love again; then he begins to complain, and it seems to him too long until the time when he is taken from this life's afflictions and is brought to eternal rest.⁴²

Lynne Grundy, in examining Ælfric's theology of Grace, explains: "Christians must make progress from fear to love if they are to render to God a pleasing service. Repentance is a step along this road, and it is always met by a merciful response from God."⁴³ The penitential progress from fear to love is tear-strewn, and these tears ultimately bridge the gap between the penitent and God, passing the sinner's message of true repentance up to Heaven and the reply of forgiveness down to earth. Jerome, in his "Letter to Eustochim," described the way that tears shed in a religious experience could not just transcend the divide between Heaven and earth; they could *almost* transport the weeper: "When I had shed copious tears and strained my eyes toward heaven, I sometimes felt myself among the angelic hosts, and for joy and gladness sang."⁴⁴ Jerome's transcendent tears are, thus, in no way a sorrowful lament, but rather, they spring from the compunction of love, not fear.

Gregorian tears of compunction are used as a recurring theme in *Andreas*, an anonymous Old English poem in the Vercelli Codex about the suffering of St. Andrew at the hands of his pagan captors and their subsequent conversion to Christianity. Andrew sheds tears not out of distress at his tortures; indeed he was tortured until "blood welled out in hot gore."⁴⁵ The poet takes pains to point out that Andrew "within himself is possessed of unquestioning courage," and therefore he "remained devoted to Christ, and the saintly spirit was light about his heart, his purpose firm," and "his body, though exhausted by its wounds, paid no heed to the pain."⁴⁶ Andrew only begins to weep when he fears becoming silenced in his worship of God:

Then there came an unhappy sound of weeping issuing forth from the man's breast; the coursing stream of tears welled up and he declared aloud: Look on my plight now, Lord God . . . I trust in you, my

Creator, that you, the Saviour of men, eternal, almighty, by reason of your abundant virtue, will never, being merciful of heart, abandon me—provide that my life on earth lasts so I manage it that I fall little short of your loving precepts, Lord. Do not let the bane of mankind, the first-begotten offspring of evil, mock [and] . . . heap vilification upon those who maintain your praise.⁴⁷

It is not, therefore, Andrew's pain that moves him to tears, but the idea that he will not be able to continue to praise God. His fears are not unfounded because the Devil, on hearing Andrew's prayer, commands his torturers: "Hit him in the mouth, the sinful enemy of the people talks too much."⁴⁸ Yet, even Christ despaired at the last, and so, too, must Andrew. After the third day of torture, he is dejected; he weeps weary-hearted and details his injuries, asking, like Christ did, "Why have you forsaken me?"⁴⁹ He finishes a litany of his tortures with the pitiful proclamation: "Parting with this existence is more attractive to me than this concern for life."⁵⁰ God, hearing Andrew's despair and witnessing his tears, replies, "Do not weep for your miserable plight, dearest friend; it is not too severe for you."⁵¹ Andrew's blood trail becomes covered with blossoms, and this is not the only physical transformation; the fourth time Andrew's torturers lead him out, he arises whole and unmarked, with his hair and clothes pristine, and giving praise. Andrew, then, weeps at two crucial junctures: first, when he begs to be allowed to continue to praise God, he sheds prayerful tears so powerful that even the Devil cannot stand them, and second, when Andrew, in *imitatio Christi*, despairs for just a moment before his own version of the Resurrection.

St. Andrew's captors also shed tears, and these closely follow Gregory's model of tears of compunction: their tears well up at first from fear and then from love and Grace. After Andrew has been tortured and miraculously made whole again, a flood is sent forth and his captors begin a dirge: "The noise of people weeping was heard abroad, the miserable outcry of mortals."⁵² One man, abject, melancholy, and lamenting, recognizes the truth of the situation: "Fate, harsh and malignant, is crushing us—[let us] entreat the holy man for help, aid and relief. Peace after sorrow will be ours at once, if we look to him."⁵³ Thus, appropriately contrite and willing for reconciliation, Andrew's former torturers recognize the strength of God, and that Andrew is a messenger come to aid their nation. Then, God Himself appears and proclaims that He was moved by their true tears of compunction:

Because of the suffering of the folk, their heart is sad, go about grieving; they complain of their anxiety, men and women together. Their weeping, their mourning mood, has come hastening into my presence. You must not abandon your flock in so new a state of joy.⁵⁴

God, thus, provides the ultimate witness to the transcendent power of true tears of regret. Tears, rather than being tokens of weakness or helplessness

are ultimately powerful, because they cannot lie but reveal the *inweardre heort* (inward-heart) and, thus, the path to genuine contrition, true reconciliation, and everlasting salvation.⁵⁵

Juliana, another Old English poem that, like *Andreas*, deals with Christian stoicism in the face of torture, is preserved in the Exeter Book. The late Anglo-Saxon poem describes the martyrdom of St. Juliana of Nicomedia during the Diocletian Persecution, which began in 303. The poem is not anonymous—a rarity—as the poet Cynewulf, about whom nothing is known with certainty, wove his name in runes into four poems, two of which survive two in the Exeter Book (*Juliana* and *Christ II*) and two in the Vercelli Book (*Elene* and *Fates of the Apostles*).⁵⁶ It is not, in fact, Juliana who weeps in the poem, but the poet himself. Cynewulf has highlighted Juliana's unshakeable resolve, which he contrasts with his own fears that he himself may have been too late with his spiritual defenses. He informs his audience that there is one final chance to save the souls of those who have not shed sufficient tears of compunction while living to shrive their sins—a saintly intercession:

I remember all the hurt, the wounds of sin, which late or early I did myself in this world: This weeping, I shall bewail with tears. Too tardy I was at the proper time in sooner feeling shame while spirit and body journeyed together in health upon this earth. I shall be in need of favors then, for the saints to intercede for me with the supreme King. My distress, my great anxiety of mind, forewarns me of this.⁵⁷

Although Cynewulf's tears have a quality of regretted tardiness in repentance, and all seems lost, there may yet be a chance that the saints, because of these very tears, might take pity on his plight and intercede on his behalf with God. In *Another Homily Concerning the Day of Judgment* (Homily XV), in the Vercelli Book, the scene that Cynewulf anticipates with dread is described. A sinful crowd is brought before Christ and his mother begins to weep:

The blessed Mary, Christ's mother, will see the heap of the wretched, the sorrowful and the blood-stained, and then she with a weeping voice will arise and fall at Christ's knees and at his feet, and she will say . . . Do not allow the power of the devils to have so great a crowd of your handiwork.⁵⁸

Moved by this tearful display, Christ grants Mary a third of the sinful crowd. Likewise, Michael approaches Christ: "he will creep on hands and feet . . . with a great grief and many tears"; so, too, Peter, "very sorrowful and very sad and with many sorrowful tears," begs for intercession.⁵⁹ Like Mary, the two saints are also granted one-third of the sinners. These saintly tears again display a transcendent quality: when the suppliant's tears of

compunction arrive too late to serve as a conduit to the divine, there is still a chance that saintly tears of intercession can bridge the gulf.

* * *

Crying in the late Anglo-Saxon world, then, is more complex than a cursory look at heroic poetry would lead us to believe: it is rarely gendered and ritualized. In Old English heroic poetry that anachronistically portrays a pagan past, men keep their emotions locked inside and women ritually lament at funerals. This emotional reserve, however, is not borne out in other genres of writing from the Anglo-Saxon world. Reports of tears in historical narratives are rare enough, however, that they often have some larger significance. The *Encomiast*, for instance, uses Cnut's tears to demonstrate his moral character, while the hagiographers of the reformers, Dunstan and Oswald, show that contemporary laymen used demonstrative tearful petitions to ease tricky negotiations. In the homilies and Christian poems, late Anglo-Saxon authors infused patristic theology into their own lachrymal language, through which they were able to express their often ineffable hopes and fears for the hereafter. Ultimately, then, in the late Anglo-Saxon literature, tears acquire powerful channeling properties far greater than words: they align the internal, external, and the divine, conveying the deepest truths first outwards from the inward-heart to external display, and then beyond from this world to the next.

NOTES

1. I wish to acknowledge the help and support of St. John's University Faculty Writing Initiative; the majority of this chapter was written during two on-campus writing retreats. Thanks also go to Drs. Elaine Carey, Susan Schmidt-Horning, Nerina Rustomji, and Flora Keshishian for their perceptive comments on my first draft. I would also to thank the members of the audience who heard a version of this chapter at Kalamazoo in 2008 for their insightful questions and suggestions.
2. On the emotional history of the Middle Ages, see Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Anger's Past: The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998); "Writing without Fear about Early Medieval Emotions," *Early Medieval Europe* 10, no. 2 (2001): 229–234; "Worrying about Emotions," *Emotional Communities*; and "Emotion Words." See also Stuart Airlie, "The History of Emotions and Emotional History," *Early Medieval Europe* 10, no. 2 (2001): 235–241; Catherine Cubitt et al., "The History of Emotions: A Debate," *Early Medieval Europe* 10, no. 2 (2001): 225–256; Reddy, *Navigating of Feeling*.
3. Of particular interest for Anglo-Saxon England is Thomas O'Loughlin and Helen Conrad-O'Brian, "The 'Baptism of Tears' in Early Anglo-Saxon Sources," *Anglo-Saxon England* 22 (2007): 65–84.
4. Charles Homer Haskins first broached the idea of the development of a renaissance in the twelfth century in 1927, which included the development of individualism among other critical developments of the period,

including rationality, secularization, and the emergence of a critical mentality. Charles H. Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971). Leidulf Melve has recently provided a thorough review of scholarship since Haskins in “The Revolt of the Medievalists’ Directions in Recent Research of the Twelfth Century Renaissance,” *Journal of Medieval History* 32 (2006): 231–252, in which she places Colin Morris’s book *The Discovery of the Individual 1050–1200* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987) at the forefront of recent discussion on the origin of the individual and individualism in the long twelfth century. Caroline Walker Bynum has amended Morris to include the discovery of the community context, group, and “outer-man” of twelfth-century individualism and, thus, better describes the characteristics of the religious life of the period. Caroline W. Bynum, “Did the Twelfth Century Discover the Individual?” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 31 (1980): 1–17.

5. The poems discussed here are from three manuscripts, the Exeter Book (*The Wanderer*, *Descent into Hell*, *Christ III*, and *Phoenix*), the Nowell Codex (*Beowulf*), and the Vercelli Book, (*Juliana* and *Andreas*). Though estimates vary as to the date the individual poems were actually composed, we can say more categorically when they were written down in the version we now have them. The Nowell Codex (London, BL, MS. Cotton Vitellius A. iii) is thought to have been written in the decade after AD 1000, and the Exeter Book (Exeter Cathedral Library, MS. 3501) sometime around 975. The Vercelli Book (Vercelli, Cathedral Library, MS CXVII) is a collection of homilies and poems that was written in England in the later tenth century, and had somehow found its way to northern Italy by the twelfth century. On the dating of the Nowell Codex, see Roy Michael Luizza, ed. and trans., *Beowulf: A New Verse Translation* (Buffalo, NY: Broadview Press, 2000), 11. On the dating of the Exeter Book, see Patrick W. Conner, “The Structure of the Exeter Book Codex (Exeter, Cathedral Library, MS 3501),” in *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: Basic Readings*, ed. Mary P. Richards (New York: Routledge, 2000), 301. On the Vercelli Codex, see Elaine M. Treharne, *Old and Middle English c.890–c.1400: An Anthology* (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley, 2004), 89.
6. See Bernard J. Muir, ed., *The Exeter Anthology of Old English Poetry: An Edition of Exeter Dean and Chapter MS 3501*, 2nd ed. (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 2000).
7. ”Ic to soþe wat þæt biþ in eorle indryhten þeaw, þæt he his ferðlocan fæste binde, healde his hordcofan, hycge swa he wille. Ne mæg werig mod wyrde wiðstondan, ne se hreo hyge helpe gefremman” (*The Wanderer*, ll.10–16). Text from the Labyrinth Library hosted by Georgetown University, <http://www8.georgetown.edu/departments/medieval/labyrinth/library/oe/texts/a3.6.html> (accessed February 6, 2010). Translation by Sidney A. J. Bradley, *Anglo-Saxon Poetry* (London: Everyman, J. M. Dent, 1995), 322.
8. John R. Clark Hall, *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1960), 106.
9. “Him wæs geōmor sefa, murnende mōd” (*Beowulf*, ll.49–50). Text from George Jack, *Beowulf: A Student Edition* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 30. Translation Bradley, *Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, 412. My emphasis in italics.
10. “Pæs þe þincean mæg þegne monegum se þe æfter sincgyfan on sefan grēoteþ, hreþerbealo hearde” (*Beowulf*, ll.1341–43). Text from Jack, *Beowulf*, 108. Translation Bradley, *Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, 447. My emphasis in italics.
11. For such ritualized funeral lamentation in Trecento, Italy, see Judith Steinhoff’s chapter in this volume.
12. “Ides gnornode, geōmrode giddum” (*Beowulf*, ll.1117–1118). Text Jack, *Beowulf*, 94. Translation Bradley, *Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, 441.

13. "[G]ēat[isc] mēowle[. . .] bunden heorde [so]ng sorgcaerig" (*Beowulf*, ll.3150–152). Text Jack, *Beowulf*, 209. Translation adapted from Bradley, *Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, 494.
14. The ritual of the female lament is expressed also in a poem from the Exeter book, *Descent into Hell*, which describes the arrival of three Marys at Christ's sepulcher, prepared to cry: "They meant, those desolate women, to mourn for a while with weeping and to bewail with lamentation their Prince's death." "Woldan werigu wif wope bimænan æþelinges deað ane hwile, reonge bereotan" (*Descent into Hell*, l.4). Text from the Labyrinth Library hosted by Georgetown University, <http://www8.georgetown.edu/departments/medieval/labyrinth/library/oe/texts/a3.26.html> (accessed February 6, 2010). Translation Bradley, *Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, 392.
The similarity between the biblical scene and that in *Beowulf* makes one wonder whether first-century Judea, rather than sixth-century Scandinavia formed the basis of the *Beowulf* lament; it would certainly have been palpable and accessible to the monks of the tenth and eleventh centuries through scripture.
15. Patton and Hawley, *Holy Tears*, 12.
16. "Collum utriusque partim pro amore partimque pro patris morte fusae madefecere lacrimae; quibus uix extinctis, mutuo refocillantur affamine." Text and translation Alistair Campbell, *Encomium Emmae Reginae* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 16–17. The *Encomium Emmae* was composed between 1041 and 1042 and survives in one mid-eleventh-century manuscript, London, BL, Additional 33241, and three later versions on paper; see Campbell, *Encomium*, xciii–ci. In 2008 a fourteenth-century manuscript of the text was found in the library of the Earl of Devon and sold at Sotheby's. See http://www.sothebys.com/app/live/lot/LotDetail.jsp?lot_id=159503549 (accessed August 30, 2010).
17. Diane Apostolos-Cappadona, "Pray with Tears and Your Request Will Find a Hearing: On the Iconology of the Magdalene's Tears," in *Holy Tears: Weeping in the Religious Imagination*, ed. Kimberley Christine Patton and John Stratton Hawley, 203 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005).
18. Campbell, *Encomium*, lvi, esp. n. 3.
19. Campbell, *Encomium*, 19. Peter Sawyer, *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Vikings* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 171.
20. Julia Barrow, "Demonstrative Behavior and Political Communication in Later Anglo-Saxon England," *Anglo-Saxon England* 36 (2008): 144.
21. "Vita Sancti Dunstani, auctore B," in *Memorials of St Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury*, RS 63, ed. William Stubbs (London: Longman, 1874), 25. The identity of the author is discussed by Michael Lapidge, "B. and the *Vita Dunstani*," in *St. Dunstan: His Life, Times and Cult*, ed. Nigel Ramsay, Margaret Sparks, and Tim Tatton-Brown, 247–259 (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1992).
22. "Vita Oswaldi archiepiscopi eboracensis, auctore anonymo," in *The Historians of the Church of York and its Archbishops*, RS 71, ed. James Raine (n.p.: Longman and Co., 1879–1894), I, 468.
23. "Ingressus monasteria et suspectus cum magna honorificencia humiliter incedeabat, et mirs cum reurentia in terram defixus lumina et ubertim fundens lacrimarum ut ita dicam flumina tota intentione sanctorum expetit suffragia. At ubi ad hoc peruentum est, ut oblationibus regis sacra uellet cumulare altaria, o quotiens illud pectus uenerabile propria puniebant uerbera, qualia dabat suspiria, quotiens precabatur ut sibi non indignaretur superna clementia" (Campbell, *Encomium*, 36–37). Although the English chroniclers have all placed Cnut's trip to Rome in 1031, recent scholars favor the date of 1027 for Cnut's visit to have coincided with Conrad's coronation. William Bakken

has summarized the evidence and arguments for these dates in *The Date of Cnut's Pilgrimage to Rome*, <http://www.mnsu.edu/emuseum/prehistory/vikings.html> (accessed August 23, 2004).

24. See, for example, Gwyn Jones, *History of the Vikings* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), 381.
25. "Discant igitur reges et principes huius domini imitari acciones, qui ut ualeret scandere sublimia sese humiliauit in infirmia, et ut posset adispisci, caelestia hilariter largitus est terrestia."
26. See Tracey-Anne Cooper, "Lay Piety, Pastoral Care and the Compiler's Method in Late Anglo-Saxon England," *Haskins Society Journal* 16 (2006): 47–61.
27. See Roger Fowler, "A Late Old English Handbook for the Use of a Confessor," *Anglia* 83 (1965): 28–29.
28. The *inweardre heort* is a term often used in late Anglo-Saxon homiletic and penitential literature to denote internal reflection and piety; see Tracey-Anne Cooper, "Inculcating the Idea of the Inner Heart into the Laity in Pre-Conquest England," in *Learned and Popular in Medieval Christianities? Conceptualizing the Differences in Medieval Religiosities*, *Mirator* 9 (2008), http://www.glossa.fi/mirator/index_en.html (accessed October 28, 2010).
29. "þu þe beorh wið ealle pas, 7 lufa þinne Drihten mide eallum mode, 7 mid eallum mægene, 7 eallum mihtum, 7 in ealre inweardre heort fæstlice, 7 beo ermmum manum milde, 7 man þwære, 7 ælmes georn, cyric georn, teoþung georn to godes cyrcean, 7 earmum mannum þonne bið god þe milde, 7 bliðe, 7 þu mid him most þonne rixian on ealra wurulda worul abutan ende." For an edition, see Robert Spindler, *Das altenglische Bußbuch* (Leipzig: Bernard Tauchnitz, 1934), 170.
30. "In primis igitur prosternat se humiliter in conspectu Dei super terram, adorationem et lacrimas fundens." See Fowler, "Late Old English Handbook," 16.
31. Text Dom Bruno Albers, "Wann sind die Beda-Egbert'schen Bussbücher verfasst worden, und wer ist ihr Verfasser?" *Archiv für katholisches Kirchenrecht* 81 (1901): 393–420. Translation John T. McNeill and Helen M. Gamer, eds., *Medieval Handbooks of Penance: A Translation of the Principal Libri Poenitentiales* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), 221.
32. Indeed, this collection of confessional directives can be seen as a pragmatic solution to the controversy in the eleventh century over the usefulness of traditional penitentials, which were little more than lists of sins and punishments. Egbert's penitential, for example, was described by Peter Damian, an eleventh-century Italian cardinal, as "diabolical figments instituted to deceive the souls of the simple with cunning devices" (Peter Damian, *Liber Gomorrhianus*, in *Patrologiae cursus completus*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, 145 [Paris: Garnier, 1857–1866]).
33. Leslie Watkiss and Marjorie Chibnall, ed. and trans., *The Waltham Chronicle: An Account of the Discovery of Our Holy Cross at Montacute and its Conveyance to Waltham* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994). See also Tracey-Anne Cooper, "The Monastic Origins of Tovi the Proud's Adoration of the Cross," *Notes and Queries* 52, no. 4 (2005): 437–440.
34. There is perhaps a correspondence here with an Anglo-Saxon version of the legend of St. Helen's recovery of the True Cross and nails; in the poem *Elene* from the Vercelli Book, Helen does not weep when the Cross is found but when the nails that had fastened Christ to the Cross are located also. See Bradley, *Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, 192.
35. "Defunctus autem regius iuuenis regio tumulatur sepulchro, deflectus diu multumque" (Campbell, *Encomium*, 30–31).
36. "Lugebat domina Emma eius regina cum patriensibus, ulu(labant) paupers cum potentibus, flebant episcopo et clerici cum monachis et sanctimonialibus;

sed quantum lugebatur in mundo, tantum letetur in caeli palatio. Isti flebant hoc quod perdididerant, illi gratulentur de euis anima quam suscipiant” (Campbell, *Encomium*, 38–39).

37. Christian poems and homilies were produced contemporaneously in the same monasteries, and often recorded, as in the Vercelli Codex, in the same manuscripts; moreover, their themes and language intertwine.
38. “Wa bið ðam mannum, ðe sculan habban heora eardungstowe on helle mid us, ðær bið wop buton frofre, 7 ðær bið þeowdom butan freowdome, 7 unrotnes buton gefean.” Text and translation, John Mitchell Kemble, *The Dialogue of Solomon and Saturnus* (London: The Ælfric Society, 1848), 84. In this homily a devil has been caught by a hermit and is forced to bear witness to both the horrors of Hell and the wonders of Heaven. This piece appears among other homiletic material in eleventh-century compilation manuscript London, BL MS Cotton Tiberius A. iii, catalogued by Neil R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1957), as item 18 in Ker no. 186, 245, and as Homily IX of the Vercelli Book (Vercelli, Cathedral Library, MS CXVII), a collection of homilies and poems that was written in England in the later tenth century, and had somehow found its way to northern Italy by the twelfth century. See Donald G. Scragg, “‘The Devil’s Account of the Next World’ Revisited,” *American Notes and Queries* 24 (1986): 107–110. For an edition of the homily, see Fred C. Robinson, “The Devil’s Account of the Next World,” *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 73 (1972): 362–371.
39. “Ðonne bið þæt þridde þearfendum sorg, cwipende cearo, þæt hy on þa clænan seoð, hu hi fore goddædum glade blissiað, þa hy, unsælgæ, ær forhogdun to donne þonne him dagas læstun; ond be hyra weorcum wepende sar þæt hi ær freolice fremedon unryht. Geseoð hi þa betran blæde scinan” (*Christ III*, ll.1284–1291). Text from the Labyrinth Library hosted by Georgetown University, <http://www8.georgetown.edu/departments/medieval/labyrinth/library/oe/texts/a3.1.html> (accessed February 6, 2010). Translation Bradley, *Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, 239.
40. “Nis þær on þam londe laðgeniðla, ne wop ne wracu, weatacen nan” (*The Phoenix*, ll.50–51). Text from the Labyrinth Library hosted by Georgetown University, <http://www8.georgetown.edu/departments/medieval/labyrinth/library/oe/texts/a3.4.html> (accessed February 6, 2010). Translation Bradley, *Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, 287.
41. Gregory the Great, *Registrum Epistolarum*, Book VII, letter 26. Translation from New Advent, <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/360207026.htm> (accessed February 9, 2010).
42. “Ærest he him ondræt helle wite, and bewepð his synna, syððan he nimð eft lufe to Gode; þonne onginð he to murcienne, and ðincð him to lang hwænne he beo genumen of ðyses lifes earfoðnyssum, and gebroht to ecere reste.” Benjamin Thorpe, ed., *The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church: The First Part Containing the Sermones Catholici of Homilies of Ælfric, in the Original Anglo-Saxon, with an English Version*, 2 vols. (London: n.p., 1844–1846), 1:140. This homily is numbered IX by Thorpe, extract is ll.17–21.
43. Lynne Grundy, *Books and Grace: Ælfric’s Theology*, Kings College London Medieval Studies, VI (Exeter: Short Run Press, 1991), 210.
44. Jerome, “Letter to Eustochim, XXII,” in *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, vol. 6, *St. Jerome: Letter and Select Writings*, ed. Philip Schaff and Henry Wace, 25 (New York: The Christian Literature Company, 1893).
45. “Blod yðum weoll, hatan heolfre” (*Andreas*, ll.1240–1241). Text *Andreas*, Labyrinth Library hosted by Georgetown University, <http://www8.georgetown.edu>

- edu/departments/medieval/labyrinth/library/oe/texts/a2.1.html (accessed February 6, 2010). Translation Bradley, *Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, 142.
46. “Hæfde him on innan ellen untweonde” (*Andreas*, ll.1241–1242). “He wæs Criste swa þeah leof on mode. Him wæs leoht sefa halig heortan neh, hige untyddre” (*Andreas*, ll.1250–1252). Text and translation as n. 45. “Hra weorces ne sann, wundum werig” (*Andreas*, ll.1277–1278). Text as n. 45. Translation Bradley, *Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, 142–143.
47. “þa cwom wopes hring þurh þæs beornes breost, blat ut faran, weoll waðuman stream, ond he worde cwæð: “Geseoh nu, dryhten god, drohtað mine. . . Ic gelyfe to ðe, min liffruma, þæt ðu mildheort me for þinum mægenspedum, nerigend fira, næfre wille, ece ælmihtig, anforlætan, swa ic þæt gefremme, þenden feorh leofað, min on moldan, þæt ic, meotud, þinum larum leofwendum lyt geswice. . . ne læt nu bysmrian banan manncynnes, facnes frumbearn, þurh feondes cræft leahtrum belegcan þa þin lof berað” (*Andreas*, ll.1278–1295). Text *Andreas*, Labyrinth Library hosted by Georgetown University, <http://www8.georgetown.edu/departments/medieval/labyrinth/library/oe/texts/a2.1.html> (accessed February 6, 2010). Translation Bradley, *Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, 143.
48. “Sleað synnigne ofer seolfes muð, folces gewinnan! Nu to feala reordap” (*Andreas*, ll.1300–1301). Text *Andreas*, Labyrinth Library hosted by Georgetown University, <http://www8.georgetown.edu/departments/medieval/labyrinth/library/oe/texts/a2.1.html> (accessed February 6, 2010). Translation Bradley, *Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, 143.
49. “Hwæt forlætest ðu me?” (*Andreas*, l.1413). Text *Andreas*, Labyrinth Library hosted by Georgetown University, <http://www8.georgetown.edu/departments/medieval/labyrinth/library/oe/texts/a2.1.html> (accessed February 6, 2010). Translation Bradley, *Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, 146.
50. “Is me feorhgedal leofre mycle þonne þeos lifcearo” (*Andreas*, l.1427–1428). Text *Andreas*, Labyrinth Library hosted by Georgetown University, <http://www8.georgetown.edu/departments/medieval/labyrinth/library/oe/texts/a2.1.html> (accessed February 6, 2010). Translation Bradley, *Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, 147.
51. “Ne wep þone wræcsið, wine leofesta, nis þe to frecne” (*Andreas*, ll.1431–1432). Text *Andreas*, Labyrinth Library hosted by Georgetown University, <http://www8.georgetown.edu/departments/medieval/labyrinth/library/oe/texts/a2.1.html> (accessed February 6, 2010). Translation Bradley, *Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, 147.
52. “Þær wæs wop weras wide gehyred, earmlic ylða gedræg” (*Andreas*, ll.1554–1555). Text *Andreas*, Labyrinth Library hosted by Georgetown University, <http://www8.georgetown.edu/departments/medieval/labyrinth/library/oe/texts/a2.1.html> (accessed February 6, 2010). Translation Bradley, *Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, 150.
53. “Us seo wyrd scyðeð, heard ond hetegrim. . . ond us þone halgan helpe bidan, geoce ond frofre. Us bið gearu sona sybb æfter sorge, gif we secap to him” (*Andreas*, ll.1561–1568). Text *Andreas*, Labyrinth Library hosted by Georgetown University, <http://www8.georgetown.edu/departments/medieval/labyrinth/library/oe/texts/a2.1.html> (accessed February 6, 2010). Translation Bradley, *Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, 150.
54. “Folc of firenum. Is him fus hyge gað geomriende, geohðo mænnað weras wif samod. Hira wop becom, murnende mod fore sneowan” (*Andreas*, ll.1664–1668). Text *Andreas*, Labyrinth Library hosted by Georgetown University, <http://www8.georgetown.edu/departments/medieval/labyrinth/library/oe/texts/a2.1.html> (accessed February 6, 2010). Translation Bradley, *Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, 152.

55. On the use of the term *inweardre heort*, see note 28.
56. See Stanley B. Greenfield, *A Critical History of Old English Literature* (New York: New York University Press, 1995), 108.
57. “Sar eal gemon, synna wunde, þe ic siþ obbe ær geworhte in worulde. þæt ic wopig sceal tearum mænan. Wæs an tid to læt þæt ic yfeldæda ær gescomede, þenden gæst ond lic geador siþedan onsund on earde. þonne arna biþearf, þæt me seo halge wið þone hyhstan cyning geþingige. Mec þæs þearf monaþ, micel modes sorg” (*Juliana*, ll.709–718). Text from the Labyrinth Library hosted by Georgetown University, <http://www8.georgetown.edu/departments/medieval/labyrinth/library/oe/texts/a3.5.html> (accessed February 6, 2010). Translation Bradley, *Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, 319.
58. “Þonne gesyhd ure leofe hlæfdie. sancta Maria, Cristes moder, þone earman heap 7 þone sarigan 7 þone dreorigan, 7 þonne arised heo mid wependre stefne 7 gefeallað to Cristes cneowum 7 to his fotum, 7 heo swa cweð: ‘. . . Ne forlæt ðu næfre þa deofla geweald agan ðus myclan heapes þines handge-worces.’” Text Donald G. Scragg, *The Vercelli Homilies and Related Texts, Early English Texts Society 300* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 259. Translation of “Another Homily Concerning the Day of Judgment (Homily XV),” by Jean Anne Strebing in Lewis E. Nicholson, ed., *The Vercelli Book of Homilies: Translations from the Anglo-Saxon* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1991), 101.
59. Ibid.

10 Tears and Trial

Weeping as Forensic Evidence in *Piers Plowman*¹

Katherine K. O'Sullivan

Although William Langland's great fourteenth-century English alliterative poem *Piers Plowman* has been called many things, "lachrymose" is not one of them.² Most explorations of *Piers Plowman* focus on its author's concern with the state of the world from an intellectual, theological perspective; indeed, with the notable exception of studies on Margery Kempe's effusive weeping,³ scholars have yet to pay serious attention to weeping and emotion in late medieval English literature. However, at key moments in the narrative of *Piers Plowman*, tears and weeping do make understated appearances, and those appearances seem to alter the direction of the poem in ways that critics have yet to acknowledge.

The first instance of weeping occurs early on in the first dream vision of the poem, when the character of Lady Meed begins to cry as she is bound and dragged before the King to stand trial at Westminster: there, the King will determine whether or not her marriage charter to False is valid, and whom she shall marry. While much of the *Piers Plowman* addresses the religious crises of the period, most of Passus 2–4 takes place not in a religious setting but in London, at the King's court, and the sheer number of references to figures in the legal system and government reiterate the influence of English civil law on the scene. As Anna Baldwin observes, "*Passus II–IV* compose the only complete dramatic sequence in *Piers Plowman* which centres on the theme of government."⁴ While nearly every other reference to tears and weeping in *Piers Plowman* focuses on the question of spiritual salvation,⁵ and although the poet plays with religious images of tears in this episode as well, Meed's tears are an example of Langland's concerns about the state of law and justice in late fourteenth-century England,⁶ and, as such, should be discussed within the juridical theme that dominates *Passus 2–4*. Thus, this chapter explores the events leading up to and those that occur just after the arrest of Lady Meed at the end of *Passus 2*, and examines the connection that exists between emotion, affective gestures, and evidence in the legal process as depicted in the narrative. I suggest that tears serve as a kind of "forensic evidence" in the legal process, and that weeping moves beyond mere emotional expression and into the realm of evidence and proof, which could be used to determine one's innocence

or guilt. I shall argue that in the Lady Meed episode of *Piers Plowman*, Langland portrays Meed doubly as a victim and as a perpetrator in order to draw attention to a potentially flawed juridical system in which tears and weeping can be manipulated—and misinterpreted—both by the protagonists and the readers of the poem.

THE LADY MEED EPISODE OF *PIERS PLOWMAN*

For readers who may not be familiar with *Piers Plowman*, it might be helpful to give a brief summary of the Lady Meed episode, for a close reading of Meed's weeping depends heavily upon a clear understanding of its causes and effects. In Passus 1 of *Piers Plowman*, the Dreamer encounters a woman clothed in white linen who descends from a tall tower. She explains to him that she is Holy Church and that the tower belongs to Truth (God). After some discussion, the Dreamer poses to her perhaps the most essential question of the poem: "How I may save my soule [How may I save my soul?]" (B.1.84).⁷ Holy Church answers, "Whan alle tresors arn tried, [. . .] *treuthe is the best* [When all treasures are tried, *truth is the best*]" (B.1.85; my emphasis). Accordingly, at the beginning of Passus 2 the Dreamer asks Holy Church about the obvious counterpart to truth: "Kenne me by som craft to knowe the false [Teach me some skill to know the false]" (B.2.4). Holy Church tells the Dreamer to look to his left, and he sees the characters False and Favel, and a lady dressed in scarlet red. Holy Church explains to the Dreamer that the woman is Meed the maid, who has harmed Holy Church and maligned her lover, Lewté (Justice/Loyalty). Meed is a bastard, she says, and her father was a false man. Holy Church then announces that Meed is to be married the next day to False Fickle-Tongue. The Dreamer describes at length the entire retinue, filled with corrupt agents, and with Simony and Civil at the forefront. However, Theology intercedes, arguing that the marriage would make Truth (God) angry since Meed is not, as Holy Church claimed, a bastard. Instead, Theology demands that the case be sent to Westminster so that it may be judged there whether or not the proposed marriage contract is legal. The King receives word through Conscience that the retinue is on its way, and sends his men out to capture False, Favel, and the other villains. Passus 2 closes with the retinue running away, leaving Meed standing alone and defenseless, weeping, as the King's men bind and drag her to Westminster.

ESTABLISHING LANGLAND'S "EUYDENCES"

A useful place to begin to analyze Lady Meed's tears is within a broader notion of medieval juridical practices, which helps one to understand what legal "evidence" means for writers in late medieval England. By the time of

Langland's writing, the king's court at Westminster used several councils to distribute justice to certain individual cases, based upon the principles of right and reason (*droit & reson*) as derived from Natural Law (itself derived from Aquinas's writings on Divine Law and Natural Law as parallels in the *Summa Theologica*), which formulated that all just laws were based upon reason.⁸ Much like the jurors on English common-law courts, who were charged with deciding cases based upon the facts rather than on their personal opinions, the king's courts also were required to use reason to determine the innocence or guilt of the accused based upon the *evidence* presented.⁹

According to Richard Firth Green, "the rapid spread of vernacular literacy in the Ricardian period, driven in large part by the bureaucratic and legal demands of an increasingly authoritarian central government, brought about a fundamental shift in popular attitudes to the nature of evidence and proof."¹⁰ Green states the word *evidence* "seems originally to have referred exclusively to written documents,"¹¹ and although the exclusive association between evidence and the written word became slightly more malleable, "there are clear signs that they still recognized its original association with written proof."¹² *Piers Plowman* certainly references and carries as a major theme written evidence (e.g., Meed's marriage charter, *Piers Plowman's* pardon, and Christ's letter patent),¹³ while also calling into question the legitimacy and truthfulness of such documents:

A charter is chalangeable bifore a chief justice:
 If fals Latyn be in that letter, the law it impugneþ,
 Or peynted parentrelynarie, parcelles overskipped.
 That gome that gloseth so charters for a goky is holden.
 [A charter is challengeable before a chief justice:
 If there is false Latin in that document, the law disputes its validity,
 Or if there is writing in between lines, or passages left out.
 The man who glosses such charters is held as a fool.]
 (B.11.303–306)

In this passage, it is clear that the forging or falsifying of legal documents was in practice enough that there was a significant problem.¹⁴ In acknowledging that the written word could be altered, Langland also indicates that there was at least some skepticism that written "evidence" was entirely trustworthy.

Indeed, Langland does not use the word "evidence" frequently in *Piers Plowman* (it only appears twice in the B-text and four times in the C-text¹⁵), but where he does, Green contends, it is in relation to a textual authority—as, for instance, when he refers to Rechelesnesse's advice to the Dreamer in the C-text: "'Sothly,' saide Rechelesnesse, 'ze se by many euydences / That wit ne wihtnesse was neuere þe maistrie / Withoute þe gifte of god which is grace of fortune' ['Truly,' said Rechelesnesse, 'You see by many evidences that neither understanding nor erudition was the advantage without the gift of God, which is grace of fortune']" (C.11.181–183). Green argues that

this is a kind of deference to written evidence since Augustine is cited a few lines later; yet the purpose of this passage is to emphasize natural knowing and the power of inner speech over those who have studied textual authorities: “Thogh 3e come before kynges and clerkes of þe lawe / Beth nat aferd of þat folk for y shal 3eue 3ow tonge, / And connyng and clergie to conclud suche alle” [“Though you come before kings and clerks of the law, do not be afraid of them for I shall give you language, knowledge, and learning to refute them all”] (C.11.280–282).¹⁶

It is also important to note that in this passage “euydences” is not connected explicitly to the written word; rather, it is used in conjunction with the verb “se,” that is, observation or sight. A connection between evidence and sight also occurs in the B-text, where the Samaritan provides an explanation of the complex theology of the Trinity by describing in detail the three parts of the hand (fist, fingers, palm) and uses this “evidence” to determine that whoever sins against the Holy Spirit cannot be absolved: “‘By this skile,’ he seide, ‘I se an evidence / That whoso synneth in the Seint Spirit, assoilled worth he nevere’ [‘By this reasoning,’ he said, ‘I see evidence that who so sins against the Holy Spirit will never be absolved’]” (B.17.196–197). The description of the hand relies heavily on visual imagination: fist and fingers bending and unbending, the hand designed in such a way that one may draw or paint, and the fist clasp and clenching (B.17.138–195). The description creates images that could be visualized or “seen” in the mind, and “evidence” is just as much based on the written word as it is based on what could be observed. In both of these instances of “se” and “evidence” used together in *Piers Plowman*, the result is a logical conclusion based upon the interpretation of the evidence shown visually.

However, when presented with conflicting evidence, arriving at a logical, reasoned conclusion could be a more complicated matter, both for characters within the text and for the audience. In Lorna Hutson’s *The Invention of Suspicion: Law and Mimesis in Shakespeare and Renaissance Drama*, she argues that there is a link between:

the investigative energy of the plot or narrative structure [and] an emotional and intellectual appeal to the audience *as lay judges*, thus throwing the emphasis simultaneously on to the audience’s intellectual capacity to puzzle out what the plot presents as “evidence” and on its ethical arbitration of what that evidence implies. Sixteenth-century English revenge tragedy, while not presenting us with competing narratives of the facts as such, nevertheless makes a similar open-ended appeal to our capacity as equitable moral arbiters of the case.¹⁷

According to Hutson, writers created a narrative that revealed “evidence” to the audience, who acted as moral adjudicators of the innocence or guilt of the accused based upon the intellectual and emotional proof offered. Moreover, Hutson notes, these Renaissance dramatists used certain kinds of narrative

frameworks whereby information would be revealed through “forensic rhetoric,” that is, “*speeches* [by characters within the drama] as attempts to prove a set of dubious ‘facts,’ or to test one’s suspicions about the motives of others.”¹⁸ These speeches offer up certain kinds of evidence, such as eyewitness narratives, hearsay, or even outright lies, and the audience must sort through that intellectual and emotional evidence to reach a judgment.

Hutson’s argument relies upon evidence revealed in speeches from the drama of the period. However, it warrants an expansion of her definition by considering emotional gestures such as weeping as sources of evidence, for emotional gestures are nearly as revealing as speech. One of the most obvious places to look is within medieval penitential manuals, for they dominate the other medieval juridical space, the confessional, and are inextricably tied to Langland’s belief that Natural Law is simply a part of Divine Law.¹⁹ In penitential manuals, writers frequently encourage tears as evidence of sorrow, as the fourteenth-century *Book of Penance* makes clear:

reufe. þou haue in þi shriuing.
 bot þou sulde haue suche sorowing.
 þat teris falland. on þine eye.
 þe sare of þine hert to wreye.
 [You have lamentation in your shrift:
 You should have such sorrowing
 That tears fall from your eye,
 To reveal the sorrow of your heart.]²⁰

According to the writer of the *Book*, shrift ought to be accompanied by such sorrow that tears fall from one’s eyes. Additionally, the *Book of Penance* lists “reufe” (“lamenting” or “sorrowing”²¹) second only to “clene” (cleansing) as the most important point of a true confession. Of course, a sinner could not show the cleansing of the soul, but he or she could very easily show sorrow by shedding tears during shrift. Complete confession had at its core tears as its most simple sign of sincerity since, as the *Book* indicates, if one’s sorrow were truly from the heart, one *should* weep because of it. Tears were evidence that allowed a priest to conclude that the penitent was indeed sincere in his or her confession. And perhaps most importantly, they were evidence that the priest could *see*. Like the connection that Langland makes between “euydences” and “se,” whereby the characters consider the evidence before them and make a judgment upon that information, the conclusion that the priest makes about absolving the penitent derives from whether a confession was truthful and complete, as determined by a reasoned judgment of the sincerity of the penitent’s confession. Weeping indicated sincerity in ways that the confessional speech of the penitent did not. Thus although speeches can reveal evidence, as Hutson argues, so too can emotional gestures, which contribute particular “facts” based upon the discourses that inform them.

In the *Book of Penance*, tears and weeping represent truth in that they are signs of sincerity, and this was certainly one of the more dominant discourses about how a medieval audience should understand the meaning of tears.²² But whereas Hutson sees the 1590s as the beginning of writers' and dramatists' concern about the "reliability of the signs and indications which people based judgments upon one another,"²³ Langland raises the issue of conflicting evidences that may corrupt or complicate the reliability of the signs that the weeping woman is supposed to represent. The dominant image of the weeping woman in the late Middle Ages is that of the *Mater dolorosa*, the sorrowful mother of Christ, weeping at the foot of the Cross.²⁴ Mary's suffering embodies humanity's suffering, and her tears of mourning were meant to encourage the same response in the audience. In one fourteenth-century English lyric, "Stond well, moder, under Rode," Christ attempts to comfort Mary, describing the pain of seeing her tears as worse than his own death: "'Moder, thou rewe all of thy bern: / Thou woshe away the bloody tern—/ It doth me worse then my ded' ['Mother, have pity on your child: You wash away the bloody tears—/ It does me more harm than death would'].²⁵ Similarly, in "Christ's Tear Breaks My Heart," addressing Christ, the poet writes, "Thy moder seet / How wo thee beet, / And therefore yerne she yerte [Your mother sees / What a plight you are in / And therefore earnestly cried],"²⁶ emphasizing her earnest, heartfelt crying. Mary's tears are evidence of the truthful, sincere sorrow and suffering she feels as a mother watching her child's death.

While for some Mary's weeping was the evident model of the weeping woman and her tears the established sign of sincerity and truth, other writers in late medieval England called into question this connection, suggesting that the weeping woman in literature should not always be connected to the *Mater dolorosa*. In Chaucer's prologue to the *Wife of Bath's Tale*, the Wife of Bath states that there are three things given to women at their birth: "Deceite, wepyng, spynnyng God hath yive / To wommen kyndely, whil that they may lyve [Deceit, weeping, and spinning God does give / To women naturally, while they live]."²⁷ While these may be three separate skills (so to speak), the Wife of Bath herself demonstrates that weeping could be deceitful, as when she was at her fourth husband's funeral: "I weep algate, and made sory cheere, / As wyves mooten, for it is usage [I wept continuously and acted sorrowfully / As wives must, for it is custom]" (*WBP* Pro. 588–589). The Wife of Bath's tears stem not from sorrow, but rather from obligation and custom, and so contrast significantly with the Virgin's tears as lauded in the lyrics. Indeed, the most boisterous weeping woman of late medieval England, Margery Kempe, was met with suspicion when she wept: "Hir wepyng was so plentyuows and so contwynyng that mech pepul wend that sche mygth wepyn and levyn whan sche wold, and therfor many men seyde sche was a fals ypocryte and wept for the world for socowr and for wordly good [Her weeping was so plenteous and continuous that many people thought that she would weep and leave off whenever she

wanted to, and therefore men said she was a false hypocrite and wept for the world in order to gain comfort and worldly goods].”²⁸ While Margery’s tears may indeed be the gift that God bestows upon her as she claims,²⁹ those around her saw her weeping as insincere or deceitful, accused her as being a false hypocrite who feigned her piety, and claimed her tears were shed because of her desire for worldly, rather than spiritual, comfort.

Tears and weeping thus contain powerful, and sometimes conflicting, discourses. These gestures, much like speech, may be understood as attempts to prove certain dubious facts—the Wife of Bath’s sorrow at her husband’s death, or Margery’s deep piety and direct connection to God. Indeed, even before the Renaissance, late medieval English writers were concerned with the way in which words and actions express psychological motivations. In the following section, I shall show that Langland’s use of the legal setting in the Lady Meed episode of *Piers Plowman* places the reader in the role of juror, and that tears and weeping as “evidence” can represent discourses of sincerity or insincerity, and even innocence or guilt.

“THANNE PUT FORTH THI RESON”: JUDGING MEED’S WEeping

Scholars have long noted the problematic nature of Lady Meed in Passus 2–4, in part because of the contradictory evidence offered by characters within the poem.³⁰ Is Lady Meed, in Malcolm Godden’s words, a “beautiful innocent [. . .] or magnetic courtesan,”³¹ or even more harshly, a “whore” (B.4.166)? Holy Church is the first character who accuses Meed of being evil, leveling some rather serious charges against the woman dressed in scarlet: Meed has harmed Holy Church (B.2.20); she has disparaged Holy Church’s lover, having told lies about him (B.21–22); and, most scathingly, she is “a bastard” (B.2.24) who has the manners of her father, False (B.2.25–28). Moreover, Holy Church claims, Meed reveals her true nature by agreeing to marry “a mansed sherewe, / To oon Fals Fikel-tonge, a fendes biyete [an accursed wretch / To one False Fickle-Tongue, a fiend’s offspring]” (B.2.40–41). As God’s representative on earth, Holy Church holds authority and sway, and, of course, Holy Church’s choice of evidence—Meed’s bastard lineage and her choice of husband—seem almost incontrovertible proof that the lady clothed in scarlet is akin to the Whore of Babylon.³² The word “mede,” as Robert Adams points out, has many meanings in Middle English: “wages, payment, material reward, bribe, profit, just desert, special favour, and, of course, theological grace or merit.”³³ Thus, as James Simpson suggests, although “mede” has a broad-ranging meaning depending on context, Holy Church wants to limit Meed’s nature entirely to Meed’s negative, illicit connotations.³⁴

These illicit connotations multiply as the Dreamer then enumerates the participants in the marriage procession, made up of clerks, assizers (who were members of the inquest, the ancestor to the modern-day jury), sheriffs, beadles,

bailiffs, and advocates of the “Arches” (the Archbishop of Canterbury’s court on Bow Street, London).³⁵ Finally, the Dreamer names the most important members of Meed’s attendants: “Ac Symonie and Cyvyll and sisours of courtes / Were moost pryvee with Mede of any men, me thoughte [But Simony and Civil and the assizers of courts / Were more intimate with Meed of any men, I thought]” (B.2.63–64). Civil law thus falls under Meed’s power and influence, as do the members of the assize. If Meed is as corrupt as Holy Church indicates, and if she is limited only to the definition of her name that Holy Church presents, the implication is that she surely manipulates and controls Civil Law as well as the antecedents to the modern-day jury through bribery and illegal acts. What is significant about this crowd is the sheer number of juridical affiliates and their presence at the marriage ceremony, implying a deep-rooted connection between bribery and legal officials. Also significant from the perspective of Hutson’s argument is that the Dreamer inserts his own speech perception by commenting “I thought.” The Dreamer’s conclusion, based upon what Holy Church tells him and what he sees, indicates that the characters in the poem also function as jurors and ethical arbiters. The Dreamer, an eyewitness, interprets the evidence, just as the audience does. However, as far as evidence is concerned, the audience only hears Holy Church’s disparaging remarks and the Dreamer’s commentary about the crowd—Meed has not spoken in her defense. Even before she steps into the court, the speeches given by Holy Church and the Dreamer’s comment “I thought” indicate that Meed is already on trial for corruption, and invites our judgment of Meed as morally unsound. The implication of Meed’s guilt is part of Langland’s rhetorical strategy to appeal to the audience’s intellectual and emotional capacity to act as jury and judge.

However, Theology—who we might think would be aligned with Holy Church—comes to Meed’s defense, offering his own evidence of her good character in order to stop the wedding:

Now sorwe mote thow have—
 Swiche weddynges to werche to wrathe with Truthe!
 And er this weddyng be wroght, wo thee bitide!
 For Mede is muliere, of Amendes engendred;
 And God graunted to gyve Mede to truthe, [. . .]
 And Mede is muliere, a maiden of goode,
 And myghte kisse the Kyng for cosyn and she wolde.
 [Now may you be cursed—
 To permit this wedding to anger Truth!
 And before this wedding is performed, woe to thee!
 For Meed is a woman of legitimate birth, Amends is her parent;
 And God granted to give Meed to Truth, [. . .]
 And Meed is a woman of legitimate birth, a maiden of property,
 And could kiss the King for cousin if she wished.]

(B.2.116–120; 132–133)

Theology becomes angry and proceeds to argue that Meed is a woman of high estate, that her lineage is legitimate and noble. Certainly, the evidence offered in Theology's speech is very different from that of Holy Church's. He establishes that Amends is her parent, and states that God himself approved the union between Meed and Truth. Theology even demands that they should proceed to Westminster to determine whether the law will allow this marriage. The force of his outrage certainly has rhetorical effect: the evidence that he offers—that Meed is, in fact, cousin to the King and that the marriage is God's will—is at odds with Holy Church's charges, and his authority is on par with that of Holy Church. The "facts" about Meed's nature must be judged at court.

One detail deserves attention: namely, that, up to this point, Meed has neither spoken nor acted. Instead, the character Favel (Flattery/Deceit) plays the active role: "Ac Favel was the firste that fette hire out of boure / And as a brocour brought hire to be with False enjoyed [But Favel was the first that fetched her from her chamber / And like a broker brought her to be joined to False]" (B.2.65–66). Favel "fetches" her and brokers her off, and Liar produces a wedding charter. He proceeds to announce their union, stating that her property ownership is the primary reason for the marriage. Still, Meed remains silent, and Liar and Guile use the word "amaistrye," i.e., "dominate," twice to describe her lack of agency—"For he may Mede amaistrye and maken at my wille [For he may dominate and persuade me at my will]" (B.2.148), and "For we have Mede amaistried thorough our murie speche [For we have dominated Meed through our pleasant speech]" (B.2.154). Indeed, the evidence seems to indicate the absence of consent and suggests that False, Guile, and Liar have manipulated the situation. Elizabeth Fowler observes that marriage contracts in the Middle Ages were based upon consent, and that most litigation derived from trying to determine not only whether the marriage was consensual, and therefore legal, but also whether there was a valid economic transaction based upon the parties' respective social stations.³⁶ The evidence put forth here—Meed's passivity, the economic imbalance in the marriage, and the clear allusion to manipulation—in combination with Theology's defense conflicts with the earlier set of "facts" laid out by Holy Church, and the judgment rendered upon Meed seems to slip. Meed becomes a sympathetic character, a woman controlled and overmastered by those around her.

As Guile, False, and Favel lead Meed onward to Westminster, the audience's intellectual and emotional reasoning becomes heightened as we, like the King, must become arbiters of this dispute. The evidence is contradictory, and the testimony by Holy Church and Theology are completely at odds against one another. The scene ultimately comes to a head when the King's men arrest Meed and bring her to the King's court. The King orders the members of the wedding party rounded up, and orders his constable, "And bringeth Mede to me maugree hem alle! [And bring Meed to me no matter what they do!]" (B.2.203). The audience can read this declaration in

two ways. The first is to understand it within the context of Holy Church's description of Meed as a bastard and manipulator; she is a criminal who must be brought to justice. The second is to think of it within the context of Theology's version of Meed's lineage, which puts her as a cousin to the King, and therefore communicates the King's wish to act as protector and adjudicator of this marriage.³⁷ But the possibility that it could be either of these motivations offers yet more conflicting evidence that the audience must sort through in order to come to a judgment about Meed's nature. When the other members of the wedding retinue hear about the arrest order, they flee the scene, leaving only Meed behind:

All fledden for fere and flowen into hernes;
 Save Mede the mayde na mo dorst abide.
 Ac trewely to tell, she trembled for fere,
 And ek wepte and wrong whan she was attached.
 [All fled for fear and flew into corners;
 Except Meed the maid none remained there.
 But truly to tell, she trembled for fear,
 And also wept and wrung her hands when she was arrested].
 (B.2.234–237)

In these final lines of the passus, Meed no longer exists as the mere object for the members of the retinue or the Dreamer's gaze; she is neither silently, passively present in the scene nor is she defiant. While the others do not dare remain for fear of capture, Meed appears rooted by fear, shown weeping and wringing her hands. As C. David Benson observes, "Meed seems more the victim than the instigator of the marriage with False Fikel-tongue [. . .] and she does not run away before the king like the other rogues."³⁸ Rather, Meed transforms from the one accused to an agent in the poem, one whose weeping becomes factual evidence for the audience. But factual evidence of what? We must return to the question of why the King calls for her arrest in the first place. If she is, as Holy Church portrays her, corrupt and manipulative, then her tears might be tears of guilt or simply tears of sorrow at finally having been caught. In this case, Meed as weeping woman would resemble the far more the insincere Wife of Bath or the "false hypocrite" Margery Kempe as perceived by Margery's fellow pilgrims. However, if she is the meek, passive victim of False, Favel, and Guile, then her weeping resembles far more the sinner's heartfelt sorrow at having offended God as found in the penitentials, or Margery Kempe's passionate repentance and her "intense compassion"³⁹ for Christ's suffering, or the Virgin's grief and mourning over her son's brutal death at the hands of his captors. This sincerity of feeling may indeed reflect Meed's real innocence in the face of having been wrongfully accused of a crime and having been falsely arrested.

The key moment here is the combination of the Dreamer's speech and Meed's emotions, which both function as forensic evidence. The Dreamer

again inserts an aside, but one that impacts how we read Mede's tears: he declares, "But truly to tell," before he describes the solitary, trembling, fearful woman whose weeping offers a particular kind of visceral, emotional quality. In other words, these "true" tears suggest that the Dreamer's speech and Meed's weeping function as forensic evidence for rethinking the "facts" of the case. The Dreamer's truth declaration is quite different from the Dreamer's earlier "I thought" statement; the word "truly" has far more weight because of its associations with what is fact and what is false. The Dreamer linguistically links Meed's tears and weeping to "truth," and it is the "truth" that would be important to us, the judges of innocence or guilt. Both ways of interpreting her tears and motives seem plausible: one interpretation plays more on emotions—the pitiable, weeping Meed; the other plays on intellect—the righteousness of Holy Church. Yet, the ambiguity of the evidence before us may encourage us to suspend any earlier moral judgment charged against Meed. If nothing else, Langland seems to have offered sufficient grounds for the audience to understand Meed as a complicated figure, one that cannot be easily condemned, as Holy Church does, or easily defended, as Theology does. Rather, the evidence Langland shows us presents a more robust view of the difficulty that such proof poses, and indicates how a gesture such as weeping is no more, but also no less, a sign of sincerity or truth than are speeches or words.

Of course, as readers of *Piers Plowman* know, the King condemns Meed in Passus 4, and my intention was not to prove or disprove Meed's innocence or guilt. Rather, I have attempted to introduce a new way of thinking about tears as forms of forensic evidence. By using the same technique that Hutson argues the Renaissance dramatists use—that is, appealing to the emotional and intellectual centers of reasoning in the audience members who act as arbiters of innocence and guilt—Langland positions the audience of *Piers Plowman* as the primary evaluator of the evidence put forth against Meed, and asks them to evaluate what that evidence implies. Indeed, the evidence that Langland offers is usefully ambiguous, for it involves the reader in the juridical processes of weighing the facts of the case: perhaps the audience has wrongly deferred to Holy Church's accusations against Lady Meed or it has agreed with Theology's defense too quickly. Meed's tears at the end of Passus 2 are the culmination of the conflicting evidence, which causes us to rethink and reframe our judgments. The brilliance of Langland's judicial framework, of course, is that this weeping scene propels the action of the poem as the readers attempt to reason out the evidence put before them.

NOTES

1. A shortened version of this chapter was presented at the 2009 International Congress on Medieval Studies. Many thanks to Joshua Davis for his comments on an earlier version of this chapter, and special thanks to C. David Benson for his encouragement and invaluable feedback on all versions of this chapter.

2. While scholars occasionally note the presence of tears and weeping in *Piers Plowman*, they often treat these images as mere narrative details without a considered assessment of what they might actually mean in the poem. Of the limited discussions on tears and weeping in *Piers Plowman*, most scholars focus on the confessions of the Seven Deadly Sins in Passus 5: for example, see John Alford, "The Figure of Repentance in *Piers Plowman*," in *Suche Werkis to Werche': Essays on Piers Plowman in Honor of David C. Fowler*, ed. Miceal F. Vaughan, 3–28 (East Lansing, MI: Colleagues Press, 1993); and Nick Gray, "The Clemency of Cobblers: A Reading of 'Glutton's Confession' in *Piers Plowman*," *Leeds Studies in English* 17 (1986): 61–75. They also focus on Pope Gregory's tears for the righteous heathen Trajan in Passus 11; for example, see Frank Grady, "*Piers Plowman*, St. Erkenwald, and the Rule of Exceptional Salvations," *Yearbook of Langland Studies* 6 (1992): 61–88; Frank Grady, *Representing Righteous Heathens in Late Medieval England* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), esp. 17–44. Or they focus on Haukyn's weeping in Passus 14; for examples, see Gillian Rudd, *Managing Language in Piers Plowman* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1994); Lynn Staley, "The Man in Foul Clothes and a Late Fourteenth-Century Conversation about Sin," *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 24 (2002): 1–47. However, even in these studies, weeping in *Piers Plowman* is often treated as an aside rather than as the central focus.
3. For scholarship on Margery Kempe's weeping, see, for example, Dhira B. Mahoney, "Margery Kempe's Tears and the Power over Language," in *Margery Kempe: A Book of Essays*, ed. Sandra J. McEntire, 37–50 (New York: Garland, 1992); Ellen Ross, "'She Wept and Cried Right Loud for Sorrow and for Pain': Suffering, the Spiritual Journey, and Women's Experience in Late Medieval Mysticism," in *Maps of Flesh and Light: The Religious Experience of Medieval Women Mystics*, ed. Ulrike Wiethaus, 45–59, 163–166 (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1993).
4. Anna Baldwin, *The Theme of Government in Piers Plowman* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1981), 24. Baldwin refers to both the legislative and legal systems as elements in the theme of government throughout her book, since the two were inherently linked (19–38).
5. Characters who weep include the Dreamer, who weeps during the confession of the Seven Deadly Sins in Passus 5; Piers Plowman, who declares he will weep as a new form of spiritual pilgrimage in Passus 7; Gregory, who weeps for Trajan and saves his soul in Passus 11; Haukyn, who weeps over the sorry state of his soul in Passus 14; Christ, who weeps when he resurrects Lazarus in Passus 16; and Longinus, who weeps at the foot of the Cross in Passus 18. For the only detailed study on tears and weeping in *Piers Plowman*, see my dissertation, "To Crye and to Wepe': Discourses of Tears in *Piers Plowman*" (PhD diss., University of Connecticut, 2011).
6. For a useful overview on critics' interpretations of Meed's lineage, see Andrew Galloway, *The Penn Commentary on Piers Plowman, Volume 1: C Prologue-Passus 4; B Prologue-Passus 4; A Prologue-Passus 4* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 217–285.
7. William Langland, *The Vision of Piers Plowman: A Critical Edition of B-Text Based on Trinity College Cambridge MS B.15.17*, 2nd ed., ed. A. V. C. Schmidt (London: J. M. Dent, 1995); unless otherwise noted, all references to the B-text are from this edition and are cited in the text by passus and line number. Morton Bloomfield suggests that "the rest of the poem is a working out in detail [...] of the speech of Lady Holy Church"; see Bloomfield, *Piers Plowman as a Fourteenth-Century Apocalypse* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1962), 153.

8. Baldwin, *Theme of Government*, 21–23. Baldwin notes that local officials often bribed jurors, indicating the level of corruption in the judicial system, an issue that Langland also raises in Passus 2, which is further discussed later.
9. Baldwin, *Theme of Government*, 28–29.
10. Richard Firth Green, *A Crisis of Truth: Literature and Law in Ricardian England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), xiv.
11. Green, *Crisis of Truth*, 37.
12. Ibid., 38–39; cf. Jack Goody, *The Logic of Writing and the Organization of Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 154.
13. For general studies on Langland's use of documents, see M. E. J. Hughes, "The Feffement That Fals Hath Ymaked': A Study of the Image of the Document in *Piers Plowman* and Some Literary Analogues," *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 93 (1992): 125–133; Wendy Scase, "Writing and the Plowman: Langland and Literacy," *Yearbook of Langland Studies* 9 (1995): 121–131; Emily Steiner, "Langland's Documents," *Yearbook of Langland Studies* 14 (2000): 95–107; Jill Averil Keen, *The Charters of Christ and Piers Plowman: Documenting Salvation* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2002).
14. Alan Harding, *The Law Courts of Medieval England* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1973), 106–107, 137.
15. In A. V. C. Schmidt's edition of the B-text, the word *evidence* appears twice: "And hardie hem that bihynde ben, and yyve hem good evidence [And embolden those behind, and give them good evidence]" (15.436); "'By this skile,' he seide, 'I se an evidence' ['By this reasoning,' he said, 'I see evidence']" (17.196). In the Kane-Donaldson B-text, the word *evidence* appears once more: "For venym fordooþ venym, [þer feche I euydence] [Because venom destroys venom, (there I find evidence)]" (18.152); see William Langland, *Piers Plowman: The B-Version, Will's Vision of Piers Plowman, Do-Well, Do-Better, and Do-Best*, ed. George Kane and E. Talbot Donaldson (London: Athlone Press, 1975). However, this last example may not be authorial, since, as C. David Benson observes, the Kane-Donaldson edition is "daringly interventionist"; see C. David Benson, *Public Piers Plowman: Modern Scholarship and Late Medieval English Culture* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004), 25. In the C-text, the word *evidence* appears at 8.261: "'This aren evidences,' quod Hunger, 'for hem þat wolle nat swynke' ['These are evidence,' said Hunger, 'For them that will not work!']"; 11.285: "'Sothly,' saide Rechelesnesse, 3e se by many euydences' [Truly,' said Rechelesness, 'You se by many evidences]"; 19.164: "'Bi this simile,' he saide, 'y se an euydence' ['By this simile, he said, 'I see evidence]"; and 20.155: "For venym fordooþ venym, þer fetche y euydence [Because venom destroys venom, there I find evidence]"; see William Langland, *Piers Plowman: The C-Text*, 2nd ed., ed. Derek Pearsall (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1994); unless otherwise noted, all editions to the C-text are from this edition and are cited in the text by passus and line number.
16. While traditionally scholars saw Rechelesnesse as a "negative" character, more recently, scholars have taken a more nuanced view, arguing that he represents a more "reckless" indifference to the cares of the world and even patient poverty; see Nicolette Zeeman, *Piers Plowman and the Medieval Discourse of Desire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 215–216; Pearsall, C-Text, 203 n. 196.
17. Lorna Hutson, *The Invention of Suspicion: Law and Mimesis in Shakespeare and Renaissance Drama* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 69–70.
18. Hutson, *Invention of Suspicion*, 8 (my emphasis).
19. Baldwin argues, "At the heart of the most political part of *Piers Plowman* Langland points away from human society towards Christ, the type of the ideal king" (*Theme of Government*, 20).

20. Richard Morris, ed., *The Book of Penance*, in *Cursor Mundi*, vol. 3, EETS O.S. 66, 68 (1874–1893; repr., London: Trübner and Co., 1966), 1470–1586; at lines 26374–26377 of the Fairfax MS. The Cotton MS. reads as follows: “Reuth þou haue in þi scriuing, / For þou agh at haue sli soruing, þat teres fall and in þin ei / þe sarnes on þin hert to wrei” (lines 26374–26377). For a discussion of the content and audience of the *Book of Penance*, see Guy Trudel, “The Middle English *Book of Penance* and the Readers of the *Cursor Mundi*,” *Medium Ævum* 74 (2005): 10–33.
21. I gloss “reupe” as “lamenting” since, as Guy Trudel shows, one of the sources of the *Book of Penance*, Raymond of Peñafort’s *Summa de paenitentia*, lists this point of shrift as *lacrimabilis* (“lamentable” or “worthy of tears”) (Trudel, “Middle English *Book of Penance*,” 28).
22. This discourse, of course, is not limited only to the *Book of Penance*. There are many texts for clerical and lay audiences alike that address tears as a sign of truthful and sincere confession, ranging from the various *summae* (e.g., Thomas of Chobham’s early thirteenth-century *Summa de Poenitentia* [also known as the *Summa Confessorum*]) to John Mirk’s *Instructions for Parish Priests* (ca. 1400) to Robert Mannyng of Brunne’s *Handlyng Synne* (ca. 1303). For the approaches to the connection between tears and sincerity, see Lyn Blanchfield’s chapter as well as articles by Christopher Swift, Linda Gale Jones, Kimberley-Joy Knight, and Irit Kleiman in this volume.
23. Hutson, *Invention of Suspicion*, 12.
24. There is an extensive body of literature on affective devotional piety and the Virgin Mary; for two book-length studies, see Fulton, *From Judgment to Passion*; and Miri Rubin, *Mother of God: A History of the Virgin Mary* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010). While much could be said on this subject, my intention here is only to affirm the tradition of the weeping woman as deriving from the *Mater dolorosa* tradition. For a discussion on medieval English lyrics devoted to the Virgin, see Douglas Gray, *Themes and Images in the Medieval English Religious Lyric* (London and Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972), 75–94, 122–145.
25. R. T. Davies, ed., *Medieval English Lyrics: A Critical Anthology* (London: Faber and Faber, 1963), 86, lines 13–15.
26. Davies, *Medieval English Lyrics*, 111, lines 17–19.
27. Geoffrey Chaucer, “The Wife of Bath’s Prologue,” in *The Riverside Chaucer*, 3rd ed., ed. Larry D. Benson (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1987), WBPro.401–402; all citations are by tale and line number.
28. Margery Kempe, *The Book of Margery Kempe*, ed. Lynn Staley (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1996), 27–28, lines 295–298. For Margery’s weeping as an antidote to her despair, see Barbara Rosenwein’s chapter in this volume.
29. While many scholars comment on Margery Kempe’s weeping, for studies that concentrate specifically on her tears see note 4 and Sandra J. McEntire, “Walter Hilton and Margery Kempe: Tears and Compunction,” in *Mysticism: Medieval & Modern*, ed. Valerie M. Lagorio, 77–90 (Salzburg: University of Salzburg, 1986); Sandra J. McEntire, “The Doctrine of Compunction from Bede to Margery Kempe,” in *The Medieval Mystical Tradition in England*, ed. Marion Glasscoe, 49–57 (Cambridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1987); Ji-Soo Kang, “Lollard Repression, Affective Piety and Margery Kempe,” *Feminist Studies in English Literature* 11 (2003): 43–72; Ji-Soo Kang, “Clerical Anxiety, Margery’s Crying, and Her Book,” in *Global Perspectives on Medieval English Literature, Language, and Culture*, ed. Noel Kaylor and Richard Nokes, 41–58 (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2007). For discussions of the dramatic aspect of Margery’s weeping, see Claire Sponsler,

- "Drama and Piety: Margery Kempe," in *A Companion to The Book of Margery Kempe*, ed. John Arnold and Katherine J. Lewis, 129–143 (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004).
30. For select overviews of Lady Meed, see Alexander George Mitchell, "Lady Meed and the Art of *Piers Plowman*," in *Style and Symbolism in Piers Plowman*, ed. R. J. Blanch, 174–193 (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1968); C. David Benson, "The Function of Lady Meed in *Piers Plowman*," *English Studies* 61 (1980): 193–205; Gerald Morgan, "The Status and Meaning of Meed in the First Version of *Piers Plowman*," *Neophilologus* 72 (1988): 449–463; Roger David Eaton, "Langland's Malleable Lady Meed," in *This Noble Craft: Proceedings of the Xth Research Symposium of the Dutch and Belgian University Teachers of Old and Middle English and Historical Linguistics*, ed. Erik Kooper, 119–141 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1991); and Colette Murphy, "Lady Holy Church and Meed the Maid: Re-Envisioning Female Personifications in *Piers Plowman*," in *Feminist Readings in Middle English Literature: The Wife of Bath and All Her Sect*, ed. Ruth Evans and Lesley Johnson, 140–164 (London and New York: Routledge, 1994). For the only lengthy examination of Lady Meed, see Roger David Eaton, "Language and Lady Meed: A Study of the Prologue and First Four Passus of *Piers Plowman*," (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1992), esp. 12–52. For discussions on Meed's marriage, see Elizabeth Fowler, "Civil Death and the Maiden: Agency and the Conditions of Contract in *Piers Plowman*," *Speculum* 70 (1995): 760–792; M. Theresa Tavormina, *Kindly Similitude: Marriage and Family in Piers Plowman* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1995), 1–47; Kathleen E. Kennedy, *Maintenance, Meed, and Marriage in Medieval English Literature* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).
 31. Malcolm Godden, *The Making of Piers Plowman* (London: Longman, 1990), 36.
 32. J. Stephen Russell declares, "To the reader, Lady Meed is a set piece of iconography, suggesting avarice, lust, cupidity, and the Whore of Babylon. The reader is therefore entirely ready to accept Holy Church's answer to the narrator's question about her identity"; see J. Stephen Russell, "Lady Meed, Pardons, and the *Piers Plowman Visio*," *Mediaevalia* 8 (1982): 240–241.
 33. Robert Adams, "Mede and Mercedes: The Evolution of the Economics of Grace in *Piers Plowman* B and C Versions," in *Medieval English Studies Presented to George Kane*, ed. Edward Donald Kennedy, Ronald Waldron, and Joseph S. Wittig, 218 (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1988).
 34. James Simpson, *Piers Plowman: An Introduction*, 2nd ed. (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2007), 40.
 35. For a discussion of Meed's retinue and the maintenance relationship between lords and servants, see Kathleen E. Kennedy, "Retaining Men (and a Retaining Woman) in *Piers Plowman*," *Yearbook of Langland Studies* 20 (2006): 191–214.
 36. Fowler, "Civil Death," 768.
 37. Citing Ian Bishop, M. Theresa Tavormina observes that "the king seems to regard [Meed] as a ward of court who is in danger of being 'disparaged' through marriage to the undesirable Fals Fikel-Tonge" (*Kindly Similitude*, 27); moreover, she notes that the King could assert jurisdictional authority over this marriage (*ibid.*, 28–29).
 38. Benson, "Function of Lady Meed," 197.
 39. Santha Bhattacharji, "Tears and Screaming: Weeping in the Spirituality of Margery Kempe," in *Holy Tears: Weeping in the Religious Imagination*, ed. Kimberley Christine Patton and John Stratton Hawley, 229 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005).

11 A Sorrowful Song

On Tears in Chrétien de Troyes's *Philomena*

Irit Ruth Kleiman

HISTORY AND MYTH

In Book VI of his *Metamorphoses*, Ovid tells the tale of Philomela, raped by her brother-in-law Tereus, king of Thrace. Chrétien de Troyes's twelfth-century rewriting of the tale, called *Philomena*, is the author's earliest extant work, and his only surviving non-Arthurian narrative.¹

While Ovid's version of the myth counts some 262 verses, Chrétien expands the poem into a *lai* of 1468 lines.² Along the way, he inserts two signatures into his narrative. Precisely in the middle, the author names himself as "Chrétien le Gois."³ The second signature belongs to Philomena, and hides at the edge of the tapestry she weaves for her sister ("[Le] tissu ot a l'un des chies / Que Philomena l'avoit faite"⁴). In this chapter I will argue that tears, weeping, and lamentation offer an embroidered signature in the margins of Chrétien's narrative, one through which we may arrive at a deeper understanding of the tensions within his act of *translatio*. *Philomena* must be read from the margins inwards. Tears and lamentation are woven into its *sens* (meaning).

Here is the loom of plot Chrétien inherited from Ovid: King Pandion of Athens marries his older daughter Procne to the victorious, barbarian king of Thrace, Tereus.⁵ After five years have gone by, Procne pleads with her husband to fetch her younger sister Philomela from Athens and bring her to visit. As soon as Tereus sees Philomela, he burns with lust for her. When the boat carrying the two lands in Thrace, instead of reuniting the sisters, Tereus takes Philomela to a deserted forest hut, rapes her, and cuts out her tongue. Then, telling Procne that her sister is dead, he keeps Philomea prisoner in the hut, guarded by an old lady. Philomela weaves the story of her abduction, rape, and mutilation into a tapestry, which she is able to have delivered to her sister. Procne reads Philomela's fate, and rescues her. Together, the sisters exact vengeance against Tereus by feeding the tyrant his only son in a roast. Right after Procne has revealed to her husband on what fine meat he dines, Philomela rushes in and hurls the child's severed head at Tereus's face. Kicking over the table, he charges after the two women, sword drawn. They fly from him as if on wings, and

are transformed into birds, their plumage stained with blood. Tereus, still chasing them, also becomes a bird, a hoopoe, “with the look of one armed for war” [*facies armata videtur*].⁶

In both Ovid’s and Chrétien’s versions of the story, tears are shed by each of these four characters, as well as by Procne’s son Itys. Tereus sheds tears as he pleads with Pandion to send Philomela home with him; Pandion sobs at parting from his daughter; Tereus weeps again as he tells Procne of her sister’s “death”; Philomela wails over Tereus’s assault; Procne mourns her sister; Itys sheds tears as he clings to his mother’s neck in the tale’s penultimate scene, and Tereus shudders when he discovers what Procne and Philomela have done for vengeance.⁷ However, despite the initial appearance of coherence, Chrétien alters his source material in subtle ways, shifting the sequence that leads to tears or dries them, and manipulating formal aspects of his narrative (e.g., focalization) to produce a range of interpretations not always found in the Latin text. The transformations Chrétien effects around tears and crying highlight the ways that *Philomela* was, for medieval readers, both a compelling and a deeply problematic narrative. Careful study of how Chrétien “translates” the tears he finds in Ovid’s narrative reveals how the medieval author negotiates competing and often contradictory discourses about sexuality, motherhood, and rape.

Since Patricia Klindienst Joplin’s 1984 “The Voice of the Shuttle Is Ours,” the myth of Philomela has arguably become the central text in debates over feminism, aesthetics, and the representation of rape.⁸ Kathryn Gravdal’s 1991 *Ravishing Maidens* brought the discourses of rape within courtly culture to the forefront of debates about medieval literature.⁹ Since then, essays by E. Jane Burns, Nancy Jones, and Peggy McCracken have produced compelling readings of Chrétien’s *Philomena* in what might be considered a feminist mode.¹⁰ However, feminist readings of the narrative are far from producing consensus.¹¹ The way that Chrétien manipulates the tears in Ovid’s text reflect a deliberate situating of his own version of the story within the affective, juridical, and theological discourses of his own times. While a broader analysis of tears in Chrétien’s romances, or indeed in medieval French romance as a genre, remains to be done, one thing is clear: Chrétien uses tears to produce a morally disambiguated, “safe,” Christianized reading of the Latin myth and its bloody (in)justice.¹² Simultaneously, the narrative appears dissatisfied by these answers to the tale’s horror.

Crying is both a universal human phenomena and a highly specific one.¹³ From one society to another, or from one epoch to another, the behaviors, values, and meanings attached to tears can vary substantially. Tears can be shed as the private expression of emotion, or in public, collectively, as part of a community’s rituals. Throughout the Christian Middle Ages—from Saint Augustine to the vernacular devotional texts of the fifteenth century—tears and blood were closely associated. Tears are the soul’s blood, “sanguis anime sunt pie lacryme.”¹⁴ Tears are an essence of the

body, whether corrupt or saintly, and they can be thus be perceived as metonymic extensions of it.¹⁵ In Chrétien's version of the myth, tears, like Philomena's tongue or Itys's head, form an essential and polyvalent element in the narrative's symbolic economy. Tears flow through the *Philomena*, connecting one character to another, but also exposing all that is fractured or incomplete in the bonds between them. Pandion is moved to tears by a lie; Progne weeps for a sister not dead; Itys clings to a mother who refuses his embrace. On the following pages, I will follow the relay and transformation of tears shed in Chrétien's *Philomena*, seeking to highlight both their *sens* (meaning) and the *surplus* (interpretation) they embroider onto the Ovidian text. After examining the transformations wrought on each character, I will conclude with a consideration of two moments of weeping in the *Philomena* entirely of Chrétien's invention.

TEREUS, OR A CROCODILE'S TEARS

In both narratives, Tereus is the first to cry. Pandion does not want to let his daughter leave, but lust will not let Tereus take no for an answer.

[F]acundum faciebat amor, quotiensque rogabat
ulterius iusto, Procnen ita velle ferebat.
addidit et lacrimas, tamquam mandasset et illas.
pro superi, quantum mortalia pectora caecae
nocta habent!

[Love made him eloquent, as often as he asked more urgently than he should, he would say that Procne wished it so. He even added tears to his entreaties, as though she had bidden him to do this too. Ye gods, what blind night rules in the hearts of men!] (vv. 469–473)

Tereus weeps for persuasive effect. His tears qualify the excess in his plea; they are the signal of a transgression of boundaries that begins in language even before he seizes Philomela. Chrétien's Tereus cries at the same moment in the narrative, but his tears are of another ilk.

La pucele sovant anbrace
Et sospire formant et plore.
Ja ne cuide veoir cele ore
Qu'il la taigne a sa volanté.
Si l'a deables anchanté.

[He often embraces the maiden and sighs heavily and weeps. He does not know if he will see the hour when he can have her all to himself. The devil has enchanted him.] (vv. 459–462)

The medieval Tereus cries out of lustful agitation. His tears are the body's authentic expression of the sexual desire that masters him.¹⁶ To conceal the source of his affect, Tereus tells Pandion, "a mervoilles sui esfreez" (I'm fantastically terrified [v. 533]), claiming that Procne has told him not to return at all if he returns without her sister. Whereas in the Latin text Tereus's tears are purely instrumental, here they are both instrumental and expressive. Tereus's body tells its own truth, but the words he offers about that body aim to deceive.

When Tereus delivers the false report to Procne that her sister is dead, "tears gave credence to the tale" (*et lacrimae fecere fidem* [v. 566]), says Ovid. This time the Old French Tereus also manipulates the body's value as a (false) index of truth. His tears form part of a rhetoric of deception.

Por son dit miauz afermer
Comança des iauz a lerner
Par barat et par renardie.

[To better prove what he says he began to make his eyes tear up with deceit and cunning.] (vv. 927–929)

Chrétien does not say "plorer" but rather "lerner," a word that appears far less frequently in his lexicon, and whose nuances are less holy and more ambiguous.¹⁷ Tereus sheds tears from his *eyes* not from his heart ("Comança des *iauz* a lerner"; my emphasis).¹⁸ Thus three different descriptors of Tereus's tears warn his reader: in the comment "with deceit and cunning;" in the preference for "to tear up" over "to cry;" and in the limiting mention that only Tereus's *eyes* water. Tereus possesses the opposite of the medieval Gift of Tears—he has a knack for knowing how to cry.¹⁹

The classical Tereus sheds tears one more time. When he discovers that he has been eating his murdered son, he "weeps bitterly and calls himself his son's most wretched tomb" (*flet modo seque vocat bustum miserabile nati* [v. 665]). These tears, and this mention of the father as the container of the son's body are absent from the medieval French text. Chrétien's general tendency is to amplify his Latin source, but it is not difficult to see why Tereus's "bitter weeping" had to be excluded. If he is to avoid giving the impression that his villain has been redeemed, Chrétien must not let Tereus shed tears that a twelfth-century reader could perceive as signs of penitence, contrition, or divine pardon.²⁰ Tereus's tears must not alter the reader's perception of his metamorphosis as a punishment.²¹

PANDION: A FATHER'S TEARS

In both Ovid and Chrétien's texts, Pandion's farewell to his daughter is a tearful one. Three times the Latin Pandion cries, and each time his tears

have greater pathos for the reader. First he “consigned his daughter to Tereus with many tears” (comitem lacrimis commendat obortis [v. 495]). Then he kissed her goodbye “and gentle tears fell as he spoke the words” (et lacrimae mites inter mandata cadebant [v. 505]). Finally, parting from her, “his voice broke with sobs, he could hardly say farewell, as he feared the forebodings of his mind” (supremumque vale pleno singultibus ore / vix dixit tiuitque suae praesagia mentis [vv. 509–510]).

Matters are different with Chrétien’s Pandion, whose weeping offers the poet the opportunity to showcase his signature manipulation of irony and point of view. In Nancy Jones’s reading of *Philomena*, the lai’s rape plot serves to articulate a socioeconomic critique of feudalism and its kinship practices:

Pandion, king of Athens, is described as “possanz et larges et cortois” (2). To a twelfth-century audience, however, he would appear as a weak feudal lord. Pandion’s court, for all of its splendor (detailed at length by the Old French writer), lacks any male authority. [. . .] Pandion’s weakness is most evident in his lack of a male heir. Without a son, his second daughter is one daughter too many. Pandion worsens the problem by doting on his younger daughter instead of designating a male heir. The danger of such a family situation would be clear to a medieval audience; not only is the lineage thus jeopardized, but within the structural economy of the feudal household, such an undefended daughter is intrinsically vulnerable to *raptus*—violent abduction by a man covetous of her inheritance.²²

Building on Jones’s interpretation, we can observe that Pandion’s tears both highlight his weakness and foreshadow that this sociopolitical vulnerability will bear its tragic fruits. Pandion’s sorrow can be read as a moral indictment of this political and economic failure to protect his daughter from the pagan brute.

Pandion’s first tears fall in response to those of Tereus:

Pandions qui plorer le voit
Ne cuide mie qu’il li mante.
Por ce qu’an plorant se demante
Cuide qu’il plort de grant pitié.

[Pandion who sees him cry does not suspect that he is being lied to. Because Tereus sheds tears as he laments Pandion believes that he weeps from great piety.] (vv. 544–547)

Plorer de grant pitié can refer to filial piety, but the word also has powerful Christian overtones. The narrator’s voice penetrates Pandion’s mind and highlights the old man’s error, twice using the verb “cuider” to underscore the distance between Pandion’s subjective perception and truth.

Pandion thinks that love of family makes Tereus cry, for Tereus claims that Progne has told him not to return without Philomena. To cover the bodily effect that seeing Philomena has produced on him, Tereus pretends to be imagining the terrible grief he will feel to be far from his son when Progne refuses to take him back (“se je m’an vois an essil / Mout avrai grant duel de mon fil” [vv. 526–527]). Pandion’s willingness to believe in Tereus’s lies emphasizes the nature of his own weakness, born of an excess of daughter-love. Pandion misreads Tereus’s weeping, and thus tears give rise to a tragic misprision. The two men cry together, and this forges a bond between them.

Pandions tenir ne se pot
Qu’il ne plorast avueques lui.
Si fort ploroient anbedui
Que ne sai li queus ploroit miauz.
C’est droiz d’ome quant il est viauz
Que de legier plore sovant.

[Pandion cannot keep himself from crying with (Tereus). Both of them were crying so loudly that I don’t know which one was crying harder. It’s a man’s right when he is old to cry often and with little reason.] (vv. 552–557)

Although each man cries in Ovid’s poem, they do not cry *together*.²³ The description anticipates Chrétien’s tongue-in-cheek style in later works, where the author seems to parody the performance of ritualized emotion.²⁴

If the word “legier” implies that the narrator mocks the “old man,” other details remind us of the scene’s gravity. Pandion takes these shared tears as a renewal of the political and familial alliances between them.

Amis, fet il, par tel covant
Que promis m’avez et juré
Et par fiance asseüre
An manras ma fille demain.

[Friend, he says, by this agreement which you have promised and sworn to me and vowed in good faith tomorrow you shall take my daughter.] (vv. 558–561)

Chrétien exaggerates the juridical and literary habit of using synonymous doublets: Tereus’s tears confirm his promise, vow, solemn word, sermon, and good faith. The immediate “covant” between them lies in this moment of shared weeping. It is because of their shared tears that Pandion agrees to entrust his daughter to Tereus. Chrétien situates the fatal transfer of Philomena from paternal protection to sexual vulnerability precisely at the

moment when Pandion's empathic tears run together with Tereus's false ones. Tears first enter circulation in the narrative economy of metonymies and substitutions at this point. The exchange of tears between the two men serves as more than a simple figuration of the arrangement they will make to share Philomena. Tears and daughter are equally metonymies of the father's body, but they are not equal to one another. The false equivalence Pandion implicitly makes between them propels Chrétien's violent tale. Philomena's virginity is literally sold for tears. Here begins the chain of sacrificial metonymies which culminates in Itys's severed head, called by Progne the "loyer," the payment, for Tereus's crime.²⁵

Ovid grants Pandion the dignity of premonition; dark thoughts choke his voice as he sees Philomena depart. Chrétien gives the narrator this prophetic role, leaving Pandion awash in his own tears:

Pandions plore mout fort
 Por sa fille qu'aller an voit.
 S'il an plore mout a grant droit,
 Car ja mes ne la reverra.

[Pandion cries mightily for his daughter whom he watches depart. He has every right to cry, for he will never see her again.] (vv. 722–725)

The narrator's prophecy condemns Pandion and his deed. Tereus uses tears to draw a veil over his true thoughts; then Pandion's tears act like a veil that keeps him from seeing clearly through to Tereus's fraud. Dry-eyed, perhaps Pandion would not have become Tereus's dupe. The Athenian king has only his tears to blame for having something to cry about.²⁶

In the compact arrangement of Chrétien's verse, Tereus's boat carries Philomena from her father's tearful embrace straight to the cabin in the woods where she will be doubly violated. Ovid's Philomela calls pitifully for her father as Tereus ravages her. Chrétien's Philomena passes directly into an accusatory, juridical discourse. Repeating the word "felon"—meaning treacherous, cruel, and criminal—she hurls at Tereus a barrage of insults drawn from a densely overlapping lexicon of perjury, barbarian lawlessness, heathen cruelty, and betrayal. Wrath and indignation spit from her words. (My translation favors the idiomatic spirit of her outcry over the strict repetition of its dominant word.)

Ha, fet ele, fel de put'eire,
 Fel enuieus, que viaus tu feire?
 Fel mauvés, fel desmesurez,
 Fel traïtres, fel parjurez,
 Fel cuiverz , fel de pute loi,
 [. . .]
 Traïtres, mes peres te crut,

Qui ta traison n'aparçut,
 Por ce que devant lui ploroies

[Ha! she says, you disgusting barbarian, / you treacherous pig, what do you think you're doing? / Treacherous villain, foul madman, / cruel traitor, treacherous liar, / cunning serf, infidel of whorish laws, / . . . / Traitor! My father believed you, / and saw nothing of your betrayal, / on account of the way you cried in front of him] (vv. 807–819)

Philomena's words do her no good: Tereus rapes her anyhow, even while she continues to accuse his treachery.²⁷ When he has finished, he cuts out her tongue with a pocket knife ("un canivet tranchant" [v. 846]).

Tears serve a double function in Philomena's accusation. She appeals, first, to the sacrality of two men's shared tears as an oath. Medieval law viewed rape first and foremost as a property crime, a crime against the man, husband, or—especially—the father to whom a woman "belonged."²⁸ The virgin Philomena belongs to her father; she is, in both the symbolic economy through which the twelfth century conceptualized lineage and from a strictly juridical standpoint, *his*: hence, the danger inherent to Pandion's eager mix of his loving tears into Tereus's mendacious ones. Poetically, Philomena can be identified with the tears Pandion sheds. She is something his body has produced. Philomena's tongue and her hymen bleed because Tereus has violated Pandion's tears.

PHILOMENA'S WEeping HAIR

The reader shares his first vision of Philomena with Tereus who, freshly arrived in Athens, has just exposed to Pandion the reason for his visit. He wants to bring Philomena back to Thrace with him to visit her sister. But, "where is she?" he asks.

Atant est d'une chanbree issue
 Philomena eschevelee.

[Then from another room out came Philomena, her hair undone.]
 (vv. 124–125)

"Philomena eschevelee": Chrétien gives the whole eight syllables of his line over to these two words. No other verse in the lai is so compact. The symmetrical balance between the two words (four syllables plus four syllables) underscores their equivalence. The French "échévelée" can mean both that Philomena's hair hangs luxuriously or that it is in disorder, wild and tangled. Ovid, who compares Philomela's beauty to that of naiads and dryads (vv. 451–454), makes no mention of her hair. In twelfth-century France,

long, loose hair would have summoned the image of the sensual, weeping Mary Magdalene, whose cult was booming.²⁹ However, my own interpretation favors a different facet of this visually charged description, for hair dominates the medieval iconography of another weeping woman: the rape victim. Philomena does cry literal, salty tears in the Old French narrative. She weeps as she pleads with Tereus not to harm her and then, when he has cut out her tongue and left her alone on the floor of his forest hut, she “weeps and laments and howls” (*plore et crie et bret* [v. 859]).³⁰ However, Chrétien’s emphasis on Philomena’s hair is the first key to understanding her sorrow.

The impact of Gratian’s *Decretum*, which appeared around 1140, on the medieval legal apparatus surrounding sexuality, marriage, and related crimes needs little rehearsal here. Two points, however, merit attention. First, it is through analysis and commentary on the *Decretum* that “rape began to be distinguished from property crimes and to be categorized with crimes of violence against the person.”³¹ Next, the minimum standard of resistance required to demonstrate rape (as opposed to consent) was weeping and wailing.³²

Art historian Diane Wolfthal has studied the iconography of rape in both picture Bibles and illustrated legal texts during the period following Gratian’s *Decretum*. The question of how to depict rape is not a simple one: “[a] cry is difficult to translate into visual terms.”³³ Describing the picture Bibles’ portrayal of one archetypal rape, the rape of the Levite’s wife, Wolfthal writes:

Beginning in the molestation scene and continuing until the dismemberment, the hair of the Levite’s wife is uncovered and loose. In fact, in the scene of the Levite’s journey home with her body, his wife’s hair becomes a focal point of the composition, its strands carefully delineated to form a sinuous pattern. The illuminator’s focus on the rape victim’s loose hair is not accidental; it is rooted in medieval jurisprudence. Not only testimony concerning the victim’s outcry, but also evidence relating to the victim’s appearance was required in court. Courts demanded that the victim show torn clothes and disheveled hair.³⁴

Somewhat disconcertingly, the rape of the Levite’s wife also begins with the inability of an old man to protect his home and ends in dismemberment and vengeance.³⁵ Wolfthal continues: “Other illuminations suggest that medieval society shared a collective image of how a rape victim should look. Depictions of Saint Agnes confirm that *disheveled hair was considered a key sign that a woman had been sexually attacked*.”³⁶ From the reader’s very first glimpse of Philomena, her violation is, to borrow a much borrowed phrase, always already (*toujours déjà*) before his eyes: “Then [...] out came Philomena, her hair undone” (vv. 124–125). Philomena’s wild hair sends up a flare signaling Pandion’s younger daughter as a rape

victim, and alludes to the tears Chrétien's rhetorical portrait wipes away. Hair stands in not just as the metonymy of Philomena's beauty, but also, by a chain of associations and substitutions, as a poetic displacement for her weeping.

Chrétien stages Philomena's sudden appearance in the reader's field of vision not once but twice. The plot of *Philomena* advances through the repetition and variation of a single gesture: passing from one room to another. In each instance, a third person emerges from an enclosed and unseen space and joins another room where two people are. In each instance, this passage from dyad to triad introduces a destabilizing element that results in new violences. Philomena's final entrance much resembles her first. After Progne announces to Tereus that he is feasting on his dead son:

Philomena qui s'iert reposte
 An une chanbre iluec decoste
 S'an issi fors a tot la teste
 Jusque devant lui ne s'areste,
 Si li a tote ansanglantee
 La teste an mi le vis gitee.

[Philomena who was hidden in a room right next door came out holding the head, she doesn't stop until she is just in front of him and all covered in blood she threw the head in his face.] (vv. 1407–1412)

Again she erupts into the reader's and Tereus's vision, this time covered in blood and brandishing a severed head. Chrétien receives this image from Ovid, where:

[. . .]; quaerenti iterumque vocanti,
 sicut erat sparsis furiali caede capillis,
 prosiluit Ityosque caput Philomela cruentum
 misit in ora patris [. . .]

[And then, as he asks and calls again for his son, just as she was, with streaming hair, and all stained with her mad deed of blood, Philomela springs forward and hurls the gory head of Itys straight into his father's face.] (vv. 656–659)

That Chrétien inherited the scene's choreography does not diminish the impact of our realization that the official twelfth-century punishment for rape was decapitation.³⁷ The dynamics of Ovid's myth, of course, demand that the reader question the equivalence between Itys's murder and Philomena's rape, and the potential impossibility of justice. But that is not all: I want to highlight that medieval society, and Chrétien's audience specifically, would have recognized this severed head as a juridically coded sign.

Through a series of substitutions and resemblances, Philomena enters brandishing the trophy of her savage justice.

Philomena's hair thus references two distinct discourses about the relations between tears and sexuality, one juridical, the other, by its associations with Mary Magdalene, spiritual. This attention to Philomela's hair is Chrétien's doing. For Ovid, Philomela's hair is linked to violence more than to femininity or beauty. To cut out her tongue, Tereus grabs Philomela by the hair. Likewise, her hair streams behind her as she runs to throw Itys's head at her aggressor. Chrétien, significantly, removes both these Ovidian allusions.³⁸

In the first and last images of Philomena, both strikingly visual in their appeal, Chrétien uses legal, iconographic, and narrative conventions to depict a weeping rape victim "before and after." The first image of "Philomena eschevelee" announces her ravishing, but she appears still, white, and perfectly composed.³⁹ When all the legal harangues are done, the rape itself occupies only a pair of couplets (vv. 836–839). Yet in her final entrance Philomena is streaked with blood, blood that I would liken to tears, an equivalence suggested elsewhere by Ovid himself (the room where Itys is slaughtered seems to weep his blood [vv. 645–646]). The gore in this image, and the screaming interrogation of justice implicit in its serial iconography, simultaneously complete the sanitized, bloodless passages Chrétien devotes to Philomena's violation and reveal their radical insufficiency in the author's own mind.

PROGNE'S DANGEROUS TEARS

The tears of one more character, Philomena's sister Progne, require consideration. Chrétien substantially alters the cast Ovid gives to the mostly dry-eyed Procne. In the Old French narrative, Progne's gushing tears serve to highlight the extent of her alterity, which forms a necessary prelude to her infanticide. While Philomena's seductive beauty offered medieval masculinity conventional dangers, the murderous Progne is a far more threatening, inherently subversive figure. As a wife and mother, it is Progne, not the unmarried Philomena, who represents patriarchy's idea of a woman's place in society. Insofar as Chrétien's revision of Progne constitutes his single greatest alteration of the Ovidian characterizations at the root of his story, and insofar as weeping forms a pillar in this rewriting, Progne's tears reveal that the tension between pagan myth and Christian faith has not been resolved, but continues to vibrate through the text.

Ovid's Procne receives the false news of her sister's death with pious dignity. She performs the rites of mourning, but remains voiceless and tearless. In contrast, the Old French Progne's response to her sister's "death" offers Chrétien the opportunity to develop a lengthy *planctus*, followed by a fantastically imagined pagan ritual in which Progne sacrifices a bull

to Pluto, Lord of the Demons.⁴⁰ Chrétien mystifies the violence of Philomena's rape and displaces its consequences onto Progne's funerary lament.⁴¹ Progne cries for Philomena in two distinct ways. She cries *over* her, in mourning, and she cries *in her place*, taking up the next link in the circulation of fluids—blood and tears—at the heart of the myth. Progne screams and claws and weeps inconsolably just as her sister must have done. Progne reacts to Tereus's words with all the frenzy and struggle—all the *bodily* distress—that Chrétien has silenced in his translation of the Latin rape scene. After Chrétien's sublimation of Philomena's tears onto the image of her disheveled, "weeping hair," this redirection towards Progne constitutes a second displacement.

[. . .] par un po n'esrage vive.
 Lor se claimme lasse cheitive,
 Et s'a tel duel ne set que face.
 Or plore, or crie et or se pasme.
 Les deus maudit et la mort blasme

[She's very nearly in a wild fury. She calls herself a miserable wretch, and doesn't know what to do with such grief. Now she weeps, now she howls and now she swoons. She curses the gods and accuses death] (vv. 973–978)

The rhetorically formal narration of Progne's frenzy gives a certain dramatic tension to the scene. Her polished apostrophe to death contrasts poignantly with Philomena's wordless howls.

Mourning possesses Progne, pushing her to the edge of sanity: "par un po n'esrage vive." Progne's weeping straddles personal grief and ritual lamentation. Her tears are deeply colored not just by her *female*-ness but also by her status as a matriarch. The contours of ritual lamentation vary from culture to culture, but outside the limits of modern European societies, collective weeping is nearly universal. Its specifically female character and the privileged roles accorded to mothers within its spiritual economies are also widespread.⁴² Through this association with matriarchy, these tears thus provide a link between Progne's sister and her son, a link that tightens into symbolic confusion in the narrative's final movement.

Ovid's Procne, bride of a barbarian king, is nothing if not steely. When she unfurls the tapestry her sister has sent, she reads its meaning at once but, amazingly, lets neither words nor tears escape her ("dolor ora represit [. . .] nec flere vacat" [vv. 583–585]). When Philomela weeps with shame, a dry-eyed Procne proclaims, "This is no time for tears, but for the sword" ('non est lacrimis hoc' inquit 'agendum, sed ferro' [vv. 611–612]). It is fair to say that Procne's dry eyes provide an essential trait in Ovid's sharp sketch of her character. She cries only once, at the end, when she feels her son's embrace.

[. . .] “a! quam
 es similis patri!” dixit nec plura locuta
 triste parat facinus tacitaeque exaestuat ira.
 ut tamen accessit natus matrique salutem
 attulit et parvis adduxit colla leceris
 mixtaeque blanditiis puerilibus oscula iunxit,
 mota uidem est genetrix, infractaeque constitit ira
 invitaeque oculi lacrimis manduere coactis[.]

“Ah, how like your father you are!” Saying no more, she began to plan a terrible deed and boiled with inward rage. But when the boy came up to her and greeted his mother, put his little arms around her neck and kissed her in his winsome, boyish way, her mother-heart was touched, her wrath fell away, and her eyes, though all unwilling, were wet with tears that flowed in spite of her.] (vv. 621–628)

Chrétien reverses this arrangement. When she finds her sister, the Old French Progne sobs alongside Philomena, but later sheds no tears for her child. Chrétien's Progne is not as tempered as Ovid's, but neither is she meek.⁴³ The desire for vengeance that Ovid's Procne announces in cold blood, Progne speaks through tears:

[. . .] Progne plore et se demante:
 'Suer, fet ele, mout sui dolante;
 [. . .]
 Ne vangier ne vos sai ne puis
 Del felon qui ce vos a fet

[Progne weeps and laments, “Sister,” she says, “I am in great sorrow; . . . I don't know if or how I can avenge you against the felon that did this to you.”] (vv. 1285–1289)

Then Itys enters and the devil suggests to Progne a terrible deed.

Ovid's Procne situates herself as a woman within a discursive web of patriarchal family relations: she is Mother to Itys, Daughter to Pandion, Wife to Tereus. She frames transgression through the lens of duty (vv. 629–635). Chrétien banishes all this from his narrative, retaining only the horror of a mother who murders her child, a horror so primal that it can only be diabolical: “Que mere ne doit son enfant / Ne ocrir ne desmanbrer” (A mother should not kill or dismember her child [vv. 1318–1319]). Never does Chrétien's Progne cry as she holds her son, although it was only when feeling her child's embrace that Ovid's Procne hesitated. It is very important that the French Progne is tearless at this moment. As Nancy Jones writes:

In Medieval literature, women's tears are one of the most ambiguous forms of female power. While the early Church fathers sought to

suppress the lamentation rituals of women associated with pagan culture, the literary traditions of the Christian era perpetuated the cult of women's tears, celebrating above all maternal tears for a lost son, a theme that culminates in the figure of the Pietà.⁴⁴

In Ovid's text, motherhood humanizes Procne, revealing a tender side in a woman whose self-control has something both heroic and terrifying to it. Here again, Chrétien reverses things, so that Progne sheds all human compassion when she looks at her son. Tears shed for Itys would not just humanize Progne, they could Christianize her, a risk we have already seen regarding Tereus. Progne's unweeping eyes symbolize her entry into a monstrous, cannibalistic, otherness.⁴⁵

Thus we arrive at Progne's infanticide and Philomena's imperfect vengeance. The myth of Philomela asks that the reader consider whether an equivalence can be established between Itys's head and either Philomela's virginity or her tongue. In tandem, the reader must consider whether justice is possible on the basis of such a violent perversion of exchange. In the Latin text, Procne's desire for vengeance suffocates every other emotion. Ovid's Procne has rejected the validity of weeping as a response to tragedy. When Procne declares, "This is no time for tears, but for the sword," she proclaims tears to have no power to obtain justice. Bluntly put, she decrees lamentation to be worthless. The medieval text draws very different conclusions.

Up to the moment when she receives the Devil's inspiration, Progne continues to interrogate her own capacity to respond to her sister's suffering, as when she states, "Sister, I am in great sorrow; [. . .] I don't know if or how I can avenge you against the felon that did this to you" (vv. 1285–1289). Progne's tears have tremendous value. They represent, at once, the desire for justice and its impossibility. They offer themselves as the material realization of the distance that irremediably separates vengeance from justice. Or, from another perspective, tears shed are not only an essence of the body in its wholeness, they are also the sign of its violation. Tears are the elixir of all that has been lost. Here, then, is the secret key to the *surplus* brought by Chrétien to the myth he rewrites. Tears embody the incommensurable difference between what is lost and what can be received in recompense.

AT THE WINDOW: PHILOMENA'S SIGNATURE

Chrétien's narrative contains a few scenes that he has invented freely, which have no basis in Ovid's version. In one of these, the reader sees Philomena weep:

Un jor estoit a la fenestre
De la maison li et sa mestre,
Ne a fenestre ne a huis

N'avoit ele esté onques puis
 que Tereüs l'ot leanz mise,
 Qui a grant tort l'avoit maumise.
 La ou ele s'iert apoiee
 A la fenestre un petit liee,
 Antre les bois et la riviere
 Vit la cité ou sa suer iere,
 Si commance a plorer mout fort
 Si con celle qui reconfort
 Ne pooit de son duel avoir.

[One day she was at the window of the house, she and her mistress. She had never come to either window or door since she had been left there by Tereus, who had treated her so badly and very wrongly. From where she was leaning at the window, almost happy, between the woods and the river she saw the city where her sister was, and she begins to weep very loudly, like someone who could have no comfort from her grief.] (vv. 1159–1171) ⁴⁶

These tears serve as an essential turning point in the lai's plot, since they help Philomena convince her guardian to have the tapestry she has woven brought to her sister. In this moment, lamentation becomes instrumental, signaled by the momentary shift into present tense: she *begins* to weep. This single phrase might be seen as the fulcrum of the entire tale. Philomena turns a corner from silenced victimhood towards vengeance.

Especially, but not only, in his romance *Cligès*, Chrétien draws on architectural motifs as allegories of the author's craft. The image of Philomena weeping at the window proves pivotal to the reader's understanding of the lai. Philomena's window provides a figure for the act of *translatio* itself. The window gives us an opening through which to see; a window joins two things otherwise separated; a window defies the boundaries of walls and barriers; a window frames the passage towards freedom. A window symbolizes knowledge and interpretation itself.

At the beginning of this chapter I suggested that we read from the margins, and I pointed to Philomena's signature at the edge of her tapestry. Ovid gives a brief, somewhat enigmatic description of Philomela's weaving:

[S]tamina barbarica suspendit callida tela
 purpureasque notas filis intexuit albis,
 indicium sceleris.

[She hangs a Thracian web on her loom, and skillfully weaving purple signs on a white background, she thus tells the story of her wrongs.] (vv. 576–578)

Chrétien is more explicit, devoting nearly forty verses to the description of Philomena's labor:

[Le] tissu ot a l'un des chies
Que Philomena l'avoit feite
Après i fu la nes portreite
Ou Tereus la mer passa
[. . .]
Tot ot escrit an la cortine
Et la meison et la gaudine
Ou ele estoit anprisonnee.

[The fabric had at the top edge that Philomena had made it, afterwards the boat was drawn . . . Everything was written on the curtain, even the house and the wood where she was imprisoned.] (vv. 1120–1133)

This transformation repeats and glosses the whole of Chrétien's "reweaving" of Ovid's text.⁴⁷ It also epitomizes an important shift from abstraction to mimesis. Most significantly, since Philomena's weaving portrays the house and the woods where she is imprisoned, it creates a map that leads to the site of her enunciation, and to the heart of Chrétien's. Chrétien's signature, we recall, comes precisely at the middle of his narrative. "La meisons estoit an un bois, / Ce conte Crestiens li Gois" (The house was in a wood, so tells Chrétien le Gois [vv. 733–734]). Thus Chrétien's signature and Philomena's join one another, confounding the hierarchy between margin and center, and tracing a path that leads straight to Philomena's prison. Here are both signature and *sens*, here at the window where Philomena weeps, inconsolable.

Ovid implies that none know of Tereus's deed but himself. In Chrétien's lai, Tereus rapes Philomena on the way home and then:

A ses compaignons s'an revet
Qui ceste chose bien savoient,
Mes le traïtor tant cremoient
Qui d'aus estoit et roi et sire
Qu'il n'an osoient un mot dire.

[He rejoins his companions, who knew very well about this deed, but they were so afraid of the traitor who was their king and lord, that they didn't dare say a word.] (vv. 860–864)

Tereus's men know, but keep quiet. Their silence implicates them in his crime. Taking this detail seriously enables a fundamental shift in our understanding of tears and weeping in Chrétien's narrative. We are now able to realize the alchemy between plot (Philomena weeps while looking

out a window), theme or structure (tears as metonymy), and a layer of ethical interrogation that, represented at the level of the plot, nonetheless implicates author and reader in a moral act that transcends the duration of reading. Chrétien bears witness to Philomena's tears, and calls on others to do so also.

Having brought us to the lai's center, I would like to conclude by returning to its embroidered margins. *Philomena* begins and ends with mournful birdsong. "Males nocēs fist Tereüs" (Tereus made a bad marriage [v. 15]), writes the narrator:

Ains n'i chanta ne clers ne prestre,
Ne n'i ot nul signe de joie,
Mas tote nuit a sa voiz roie
Chanta su la chanbre li dus
Et li huaz et li cucus
Et la fresaie et li corbiaus;
Cil signes ne fu mie biaux,
Ainz fu de duel et de pesance
Tote cele senefiance.

[No clerk or priest sang there, nor was there any sign of joy. Instead, all night the owl sang over the wedding chamber with its raw voice, and the screech-owl, the cuckoo, the wood-owl, and the crow. These signs were not at all promising, rather they were grievous and worrisome, all these omens.] (vv. 18–26)

Who is this chorus of owls and crows that sing with raw voice but ritual mourners? Female spirits who weep and sing, cry out and gesture, and who presage the sisters' transformation into birds themselves. And what do they mourn for? For the bride, for Progne, who never gets the chance to weep for herself.⁴⁸

Ovid says nothing at all about the women's metamorphosis except that blood still stains their plumage.⁴⁹ Numerous versions of the *Philomela* myth make Philomela into a voiceless swallow and Procne into the nightingale. Chrétien, however, concludes his narrative with a remembrance all his own for Philomena the nightingale who:

Quant il vient au prin d'esté,
Que tot l'iver avons passé,
Por les mauvés qu'ele tant het
Chante au plus doucement qu'el set
Par le boschage: "Oci! Oci!"

[When spring turns to summer, and all the winter has passed, on account of the villains that she so hates, sings in the woods as sweetly as she knows how, "Kill! Kill!"] (vv. 1463–1467)

The sorrow in these words needs no gloss.

Tears in *Philomena* take the reader directly to the point of encounter between the universal value of empathy for human suffering and culturally conditioned approaches to a woman's place in a social, domestic, or sexual economy. Weeping offers a key through which to decipher the tensions within Chrétien's act of *translatio*. His revisions to the Latin text make visible all that he, a twelfth-century Christian living in a Church-dominated feudal society, found both compelling and unbearable in Ovid's tale. Chrétien shifts the violence done against Philomena's body onto an image of tousled hair; he mutes her screams into law-steeped imprecations; he cloaks the frenzy of her despair in a sister's mourning. Through all these displacements, he tries as he can to wipe clean the blood and tears that stain Philomena and her narrative. But Chrétien seems unconvinced by his own efforts. The French Progne gives voice to doubts never felt in the *Metamorphoses*: "I do not know if justice is possible after such wrongdoing," she sobs. Then there are Tereus's men, who are too afraid to tell what they know and so become complicit in the rapist's crime.

Tears and blood flow together in this text: the wall of metaphor that keeps them apart has been breached. Their movement propels the whole *lai* forward in an ever-shifting relay of metonymies that bind one character to the next. Tereus's crafty tears of lust run into the tears of an old man who cannot protect the daughter he cherishes. Philomena cries for herself as she can and then Progne howls and shrieks as Philomena cannot, until we realize that we have come full circle, and that every character has cried for Philomena. Even Chrétien, as I understand the crossing of his signature with Philomena's, adds his own lament to her weeping. And still it is not enough; still Philomena cries out in the forest for justice.

It is the reader's turn now. We, who hear the nightingale singing as sweetly as she knows how, let us not forget why she weeps. Let us hear in these songs, in the nightingale's and the owl's and even the crow's, the sound of weeping: of women's tears, shed alone or in company, in pain or in hope of grace, in fear, or in lament, for ill-omened marriages, for sons killed, or bodies broken, in Ovid's time, in Chrétien's, or in our own.

NOTES

1. The attribution to Chrétien de Troyes has occasioned substantial philological debate since the text was first "discovered" by Gaston Paris, tucked into the *Ovide Moralisé*, but is now widely accepted. For a recent synthesis of current and past criticism, see Roberta L. Krueger, "Philomena: Brutal Transitions and Courtly Transformations in Chrétien's Old French Translation," in *A Companion to Chrétien De Troyes*, ed. Norris J. Lacy and Joan Tasker Grimbert, 87–102 (Cambridge, UK: Brewer, 2005). Two broader studies of the myth's reception during the Middle Ages are Lena Behmenburg, *Metamorphosen eines Mythos in der deutschen und französischen Literatur des Mittelalters* (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 2009); and Wendy Pfeffer, *The Change of Philomel: The Nightingale*

in *Medieval Literature* (New York: Peter Lang, 1985). Many passages seem designed to demonstrate a schoolboy's talent for rhetoric. At other moments, the reader catches glimpses that prophesy the mature Chrétien's talent.

As he translates Latin hexameters into Old French octosyllables, Krueger suggests that "Chrétien recasts Ovid's poem in striking ways, deploying his rhetorical art to underscore a problematic *sens*, or meaning. Precisely because we are able to compare it to its source in a way that we can do for no other work in his corpus, the Old French *Philomena* provides an extraordinary opportunity to study the emerging authorship of Chrétien de Troyes" ("Brutal Transitions," 89).

2. The work belongs to the vogue for romances and lais "d'antiquité" that so colored the emergence of Old French literature. For a useful examination of Ovid's influence, see Tracy Adams, "The Mad Lovers of the Ovidian Lais," in *Violent Passions: Managing Love in the Old French Verse Romance* (Houndsmills, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 37–73.
3. Interpretations of this phrase have ranged from "Chrétien the Jew" to "Chrétien from Gouaix," a town some seventy kilometers from Troyes.
4. Chrétien de Troyes, *Philomena*, trans. Olivier Collet (Paris: Librairie générale, 1994), verses 1120–1121. This widely available edition reproduces C. de Boer's initial 1909 text of the lai (C. de Boer, ed., *Chrétien de Troyes: Philomena* [Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1974]), changing the use of diacritics but identical otherwise. Passages from *Philomena* will henceforth be cited in the text by verse number. All translations are my own. See also Raymond J. Cormier's bilingual edition, *Three Ovidian Tales of Love* ("Piramus et Tisbé," "Narcisus et Dané," and "Philomena et Procne") (New York: Garland, 1986), which presents a slightly different text, and a substantially different interpretive translation.
5. The English names of Ovid's female characters are Procne and Philomela; their Old French names are Progne and Philomena. I will use these different spellings to distinguish between Ovid's narrative or the myth in general, on the one hand, and Chrétien's version on the other.
6. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, trans. Frank Justus Miller (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984), verse 674. Henceforth cited in the text by verse number.
7. As we shall see in the following, the two authors handle Tereus's response to his son's murder quite distinctly.
8. Patricia Klindienst Joplin, "The Voice of the Shuttle Is Ours," *Stanford Literature Review* 1, no. 1 (1984): 25–53. See also Elisa Marder, "Disarticulated Voices: Feminism and Philomela," *Hypatia* 7, no. 2 (2002): 148–166.
9. Kathryn Gravdal, *Ravishing Maidens: Writing Rape in Medieval French Literature and Law* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991); Kathryn Gravdal, "Chrétien de Troyes, Gratian, and the Medieval Romance of Sexual Violence," *Signs* 16, no. 3 (1991): 558–585.
10. E. Jane Burns, "Raping Men: What's Motherhood Got to Do with It?" in *Representing Rape in Medieval and Early Modern Literature*, ed. Elizabeth Robertson and Christine M. Rose, 127–160 (New York: Palgrave, 2001); Nancy A. Jones, "The Daughter's Text and the Thread of Lineage in the Old French *Philomena*," in *Representing Rape in Medieval and Early Modern Literature*, ed. Elizabeth Robertson and Christine M. Rose, 161–187 (New York: Palgrave, 2001); Peggy McCracken, "Engendering Sacrifice: Blood, Lineage, and Infanticide in Old French Literature," *Speculum* 77, no. 1 (2002): 55–75. See also Madeleine Jeay, "Consuming Passions: Variations on the Eaten Heart Theme," in *Violence against Women in Medieval Texts*, ed. Anna Roberts, 75–96 (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998).
11. At least one critic has suggested they rely on anachronism, perhaps seeking to rehabilitate Tereus's blackened name, and with it a maligned patriarchy. See

Raymond J. Cormier, "Térée, le pêcheur fatal dans *Philomena* de Chrétien de Troyes," *Dalhousie French Studies* 24 (1993): 1–9.

12. Initial consultation of the *Dictionnaire électronique de Chrétien de Troyes* (the DECT, <http://www.atilf.fr/dect/>, accessed repeatedly in July–August 2010) reveals the subject's promise. Of ninety-five occurrences of the word "plorer" in Chrétien's Arthurian oeuvre, thirty-two occur in *Erec et Enide*, Chrétien's first romance and the one written closest in time to *Philomena*. In *Cligès*, the author seems to underscore the rituals of public mourning, and a rhetoric of tears that flow abundantly, wetting faces, clothing, and the ground. Quantitatively, the *Chevalier de la Charette* contains the fewest instances of tears, but these are intensely concentrated around Lancelot's sojourn in the *royaume de Gorre* and associated with his desire for Guinevere, thus emphasizing the mystical-spiritual aspect of the knight's desire. Tears in the *Chevalier au Lion* prove both the most varied and the most closely indexed to social performance and ritual, as in the scenes that present Laudine's widow's tears. In the *Conte du Graal*, the many tears shed by the romance's female characters (nearly all of them victims of rape or other violence) contribute to the sense of foreboding that hangs over the tale, although Perceval's tears of repentance deserve a final and special mention.
13. My literary approach to the tears in Chrétien's *Philomena* has been primarily conditioned by discussion of their spiritual associations. For a cross-disciplinary, cross-cultural investigation, see Patton and Hawley, *Holy Tears: Weeping in the Religious Imagination*. For a historical study of tears in medieval Christianity, see Nagy, *Le don des larmes au Moyen Âge: un instrument spirituel en quête d'institution, Ve-XIIIe siècle*; and Hasenohr, "*Lacrimae pondera vocis habent*: typologie des larmes dans la littérature de spiritualité française des XIIIe-XVe siècles."
14. According to Geneviève Hasenohr, the metaphor is sometimes attributed to Bernard de Clairvaux ("*Lacrimae pondera vocis habent*," 50). Hasenohr identifies associations between tears and blood in scientific literature (the encyclopedic *Placides et Timeo*) and theological writings, and alludes to visual sources as well (*ibid.*, 49–50). Devotional texts participate in the association between the two when they allude to the "heart's tears."
15. For a view of the opposition between fleshly and spiritual tears, see Hasenohr, "*Lacrimae pondera vocis habent*," 47–50.
16. On the problem of sexual desire, see Adams, *Violent Passions*; on tears shed from "carnal heat," see Nagy, *Le don des larmes*, 110–111.
17. This assertion is based on a query of the online Dictionnaire Électronique de Chrétien de Troyes, <http://www.atilf.fr/dect/>.
18. See Hasenohr, "*Lacrimae pondera vocis habent*," 49.
19. The *Ovide moralisé* glosses Tereus as "the body," corrupted by *Philomena*, who represents "sensual pleasures" (see Krueger, "*Philomena*: Brutal Transitions and Courtly Transformations in Chrétien's Old French Translation," 88, 90). While this gloss almost certainly distorts the intended meaning of Chrétien's text, it does capture his character's carnality. On the medieval Gift of Tears, see Kimberley-Joy Knight's chapter in this volume; on tears and authenticity see chapters by Christopher Swift, Linda Gale Jones, and Katherine O'Sullivan, also in this anthology.
20. On the literary associations between tears and Christian repentance, see Payen, *Le motif du repentir dans la littérature française: des origines à 1230*, 10: "Or, le repentir du XIIe siècle exige très souvent la présence des larmes [. . .] Pour le contritionnisme en effet, les larmes sont le signe extérieur du pardon divin."

21. Chrétien takes pains to call the hoopoe "a dirty bird," as if to dispel any lingering ambiguity.
 22. Jones, "Daughter's Text," 167–168.
 23. Cf. Raymond J. Cormier, "The Gift of Tears in Chrétien's Philomena," in *Beiträge zum romanischen Mittelalter*, ed. Kurt Baldinger, 193–197 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1977). Unfortunately, the author limits himself to observing (a) that the scene's development is an addition by Chrétien; (b) "The irony is pervasive" (196); and (c) to calling for greater recognition of Chrétien's use of words like "plorier," which "reverberate with religious overtones" (ibid.).
 24. See, for example, the widow Laudine's grief in the *Chevalier au Lion* or Chrétien's more acerbic handling of Guinevere's reaction to the false news of Lancelot's death in the *Chevalier de la Charette*.
 25. Speaking to Philomena about Tereus, Progne says, "Deus doint que tel loier an et / Come a sa felenie avient" (vv. 1290–1291); then addressing Itys she adds, "Sa felenie conparras" (v. 1303).
 26. I am thankful to Elina Gertsman for the observation that, according to medico-theological literature, women are supposed to be cold and moist, and therefore more prone to tears than men. Pandion, however, is the lai's weepiest character, followed by Tereus. Might we think that Pandion is "womanly" in his weakness, while tough-guy Tereus adroitly manipulates the illusion of a softer, feminine side?
 27. "[C]il totes voies l'assaut, / Si l'esforce tant et justise / Que tot a force l'a conquise / Et trestot son buen an a fet" (He assaults her anyhow, / He so forces her and punishes her / that soon by force he has conquered her / and just as quickly had his way with her [vv. 836–839]). "[J]ustise" (justicier) and "buen" (from "son bon vouloir"; "sa bonne volonté") each imply both domination and dominion.
 28. On rape and medieval law, see Vern L. Bullough and James Brundage, eds., *Sexual Practices and the Medieval Church* (Buffalo, NY: Prometheus Books, 1982), chap. 13, "Rape and Seduction in the Medieval Canon Law."
 29. On the cult of Mary Magdalene in medieval France, see, especially, Jansen, *The Making of the Magdalen: Preaching and Popular Devotion in the Later Middle Ages*; Victor Saxer, *Le culte de Marie Madeleine en Occident: des origines à la fin du Moyen Age*, 2 vols. (Paris: Clavreuil, 1959); Olivier Collet and Sylviane Messerli, eds., *Vies médiévales de Marie-Madeleine* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009).
- The associations that unite the two figures, Mary Magdalene and Philomena, are powerful but oblique. They pivot on the synergy between luxurious hair, sensuality, and sexual corruption, and on the reconciliation between sin and innocence. Despite attempts to reign in the interpretation, Mary Magdalene's sinful past was frequently imagined in terms of prostitution. Loose, uncovered hair can also be interpreted as the signal of sexual availability, while according to Brundage, "young girls were thought to be particularly susceptible to the call of sexual desire" (Bullough and Brundage, *Sexual Practices and the Medieval Church*, 152). Likewise, the fall into prostitution was a not-infrequent outcome for the victims of rape (ibid.). At least one medieval interpolator has Philomena express her fear of this consequence aloud (see manuscript "B," *Philomena*, ed. Boer, 66). We are reminded that medieval readers were not confident in Philomena's innocence by the compiler of the *Ovide moralisé*, who has added his own gloss to Chrétien's text. In this exegesis of the lai, Tereus represents the body and Philomena's sister Progne represents the soul, corrupted by sensual pleasure (Philomena). Tereus, not Philomena, is the story's tragic victim.
30. Rape exiles Philomena from language. Her mastery of dialectic and her fine legal apologies are all reduced to animal noises.

31. Bullough and Brundage, *Sexual Practices and the Medieval Church*, 143.
32. Ibid., 144. This vocal resistance and cry for rescue is also known as the “haro,” the “clameur de haro,” or the “hue and cry.”
33. Diane Wolfthal, “‘A Hue and a Cry’: Medieval Rape Imagery and Its Transformation,” *Art Bulletin* 75, no. 1 (1993): 44. The contents of this article were later incorporated into the broader study contained in Wolfthal’s book, *Images of Rape: The “Heroic” Tradition and Its Alternatives* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), see esp. 43–45, 70, 101.
34. Wolfthal, “Hue and Cry,” 44.
35. See Judges 19:20–29.
36. Wolfthal, “Hue and Cry,” 44; emphasis mine. Wolfthal identifies a third element in this iconographic vocabulary, also alluded to in Chrétien’s text. The rapist grips the wrist of his victim, to show taking possession of her and the use of force. When Tereus has brought Philomena alone with him to the deserted hut, “Cil qui le mal anpanse ot / L’atret a lui par la main destre” (He who has evil in his thoughts pulls her toward him by the right hand [vv. 743–744]).
37. Wolfthal, “Hue and Cry,” 46. In *Sexual Practices and the Medieval Church*, Brundage identifies death as the penalty for rape without stating the precise method to be applied.
38. It is probably safe to imagine that Philomela/Philomena carries Itys’s head by the hair as well, although neither author says so outright.
39. On the construction of Philomena’s beauty, see Burns, “Raping Men,” 153.
40. On Progne’s complaint, see Hans-Erich Keller, “De l’Amour dans *Philomena*,” *L’Imaginaire courtois et son double*, ed. Giovanna Angeli and Luciano Formisano, 361–370 (Naples: Edizioni scientifiche italiane, 1992). On women and sacrifice in the *Philomena*, see McCracken, “Engendering Sacrifice.”
41. On the iconographic fluidity between the two, see Wolfthal, “Hue and Cry,” 45 n. 45: “Wild unruly hair, pulling one’s own hair, and tearing one’s clothes are associated with sadness and mourning, and these associations may well have carried over into images of rape. Rape victims are distinguished from mourners by the presence of the rapist, who seizes the victim’s wrist or sexually attacks her.”
42. On motherhood, tears, and lamentation in a medieval Christian context, see Nancy A. Jones, “By Woman’s Tears Redeemed: Female Lament in St. Augustine’s Confessions and the Correspondence of Abelard and Heloise,” in *Sex and Gender in Medieval and Renaissance Texts: The Latin Tradition*, ed. Barbara K. Gold, Paul Allen Miller, and Charles Platter, 15–39 (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997).
43. A feminist reading might note the rich metaphorical value to be found in Chrétien’s description of how the two women literally forge a path for themselves through the forest and towards freedom, even as they mourn (vv. 1279–1280).
44. Jones, “By Woman’s Tears Redeemed,” 16.
45. On Progne, motherhood, and the “underread,” see Burns, “Raping Men.”
46. Somewhat surprisingly, this passage has provoked very little critical response. The exception—although she is not generous to Chrétien—is June Hall McCash, “Philomena’s Window: Issues of Intertextuality and Influence in Works of Marie de France and Chrétien de Troyes,” in *De Sens Rassis*, ed. Keith Busby, Bernard Guidot, and Logan E. Whalen, 415–430 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2005).
47. Krueger, “Brutal Transitions,” 99.
48. Cf. Burns, “Raping Men.”
49. On the divergent traditions concerning the two sisters’ metamorphoses and Chrétien’s possible sources, see Edith Joyce Benkov, “Hyginus’ Contribution to Chrétien’s Philomène,” *Romance Philology* 36 (1983): 403–406.

12 Crying in Public and in Private

Tears and Crying in Medieval German Literature

Albrecht Classen

INTRODUCTION

Tears, as cultural historians have long pointed out, do not simply represent emotions; they are also deeply determined by cultural meaning and social values. Public crying, in particular, reflects on ethical ideals, moral criteria, religious orientations, and gender roles.¹ In certain societies grief is not expressed openly; in others the entire community shares in an individual's mourning.² At times those who cry in view of the public, that is, among friends and foes, deliberately try to evoke strong sympathy and respect; at other times, however, shedding tears can also provoke contempt and ridicule. Anyone who breaks out in tears follows, therefore—intentionally or not—culturally loaded rituals because crying in public frequently serves to evoke reactions of the external world, and to connect the emotional self with the social, public domain. In other words, the history of crying proves to be just as important, complex, and insightful as the history of laughter, or the history of anger and fear, inasmuch as it allows us to grasp fundamental aspects concerning the attitudes toward emotions in the medieval or any other, world.³

This chapter will analyze several medieval German literary texts in which protagonists break out in tears, in order to shed more light on cultural conditions in characteristic contexts in the German Middle Ages, focusing specifically on the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. So let us begin with some fundamental questions concerning the critical concerns we might have regarding crying in the Middle Ages: What might such tears represent and reflect? What audience might the crying person attempt to address? Why would an individual cry, with what intentions? One hopes that the results of our investigation will allow us to grasp more detailed, in-depth aspects of the history of mentality and the history of emotions because the literary treatment of major larmoyant scenes serves very specific purposes both in courtly romances and in heroic epics, as well as in verse narratives, either reflecting on significant cultural-emotive conditions or appealing to the audience to imitate the protagonist's/protagonists' behavior.

Emotions and the gestures and rituals giving expression to them, pain, lamentations, and a variety of affects have already been the subject of a

number of older studies, including those by Georg Zappert (1854), Wilhelm Scherer (1908), Leopold Hansen (1908), Richard Leicher (1917), Wilhelm Frenzen (1936), Franz Bernhard Zons (1933), and Heinz Gerd Weinand (1958).⁴ Michaela Diers provides another selection of examples of where and how tears appear in medieval, mostly religious, documents (1994).⁵ More recently, Elke Koch, following the lead of her doctoral advisor, Gerd Althoff, has discussed at greater length the performance of emotions in literary texts as a ritualistic way to bring to light internal, emotional aspects—as efforts to translate the world of affects into a world of gestures and rituals (2006). But one problem with her study seems to be that she is treating excessive crying only as a semiological sign system, disregarding the emotive foundation and the social and religious purposes of crying.⁶ My objective here is to analyze the mental-historical significance of crying in a literary context. As the examples will illustrate, shedding tears clearly signals a major turn of events, initiating a far-reaching chain of reflections, and enforces new interactions among the protagonists. We need to ask what crying might indicate about the suffering person and the society which s/he represents. To what extent is the audience invited to share those emotions and live through them in proxy? While the focus of this chapter will rest on a small selection of medieval German courtly literature,⁷ I hope that my conclusions will be instructive enough to understand similarly tearful scenes in contemporary European texts. After all, crying is such a basic human behavior, so charged with emotional energy, that hardly any author could simply ignore it if s/he wanted to present a complex image of his/her protagonist's world of emotions. Consequently, a sensitive reading of crying in specific medieval contexts will facilitate the analysis of the history of mentality (here concretely: history of emotions) and shed more light on the rituals by means of which, as Althoff has argued, public figures tended to underscore their conventional modes of expression.

There is, however, certainly more to tears than only ritualistic significance.⁸ Tears are shed when people go to confession, when they lose a loved one, or when they are being hurt either physically or psychologically.⁹ That tears speak a unique language in symbolic terms and aim for a subtle communication would be self-evident, but literary evidence lends itself exceedingly well to explore the complexity of the phenomenon much further and to reveal the multivalence of crying in a myriad of unique contexts. When Althoff, following the teachings of social constructionists, argues that “most signs for emotions are, to be sure, the result of social or cultural constructions,” he is also fully aware of the complexity of the entire issue, pitting authenticity against fictional theatricality, both in the present and in the past.¹⁰ Nevertheless, when he concludes his discussion of specific historical examples by underscoring the significance of emotional rituals as means to gain a commitment by the witnesses of one's tears to live up to promises in the future, for example, he ultimately evades the critical issue and only reaches a different plateau in the much more fundamental debate:

The accepted commitment was regarded as more binding if it was codified through tears of repentance for previous behavior. This also means that the awareness about the authenticity and veracity of emotions was certainly developed. Emotions served as means for confirmation and increased the degree of obligation.¹¹

As much as we might be able to agree with this position within a political sphere, the analysis of a number of literary examples from the same time can open further perspectives, closely associating ritual performance with authentic emotions, revealing the profound importance of tears in coming to terms with emotions and reaching out to the others.

When we explore heroic poetry from the early and high Middle Ages, we observe at first sight the remarkable absence of tears, and so of the interest in emotions in literary-historical terms.¹² There, the protagonists commonly clench their teeth and courageously march into their death. In the *Nibelungenlied* (ca. 1210), for example, the male protagonists almost never display any emotions and do not weep even in the worst battle situations, such the burning of the hall where they hold out against the enemy soldiers. However, they certainly shed tears when confronted by examples of extraordinary loyalty and friendship, such as when Rüdegêr hands over his shield to the warrior Hagen as a gift just before their final battle against each other.¹³ He knows only too well that he will have to die as a result of his loyalty oath to Kriemhilt, King Gunther's sister and Siegfried's wife, now married to Etzel (2197, 2).¹⁴ By contrast, so it seems, women shed politically motivated tears. For example, Brünhild, Gunther's queen, cries after she has been badly insulted and humiliated by Kriemhilt who is proving to Brünhild in public that Siegfried had originally taken her virginity by deceit. Brünhild's tears clearly serve a symbolic function, signaling to Hagen that his help is needed to avenge his queen's profound pain and suffering (864, 1), which in turn allows him to get even with his arch-enemy Siegfried. Similarly, much later, when Kriemhilt and her second husband Etzel/Attila have finally convinced Rüdegêr to live up to his vassalic oath and to fight against his own friends, the Burgundians, as a consequence of his earlier promise to Siegfried's widow to avenge any of her mistreatments, she breaks out in tears (2166, 2). Both times the narrator indicates that the women's crying fulfills communicative functions, and does not really reflect either emotional distress, or psychological suffering.¹⁵

But with the rise of courtly society, and since at least the early twelfth century, poets have increasingly endeavored to explore the wide range of human emotions and hence also paid more and more attention to crying as one of the most moving outward displays of internal feelings. When heroes come across the bodies of their slain friends in the famous *Klage* poem (ca. 1200), they shed tears as signs of sorrow and grief over the death of all Burgundians at the court of King Etzel/Attila.¹⁶ And tears indicate feelings of abandonment and desperation for the young Tristan in Gottfried

von Strassburg's eponymous romance (ca. 1210). Having been dropped off by the Norwegian merchants on the coast of Cornwall out of fear of God's wrath against them because of their kidnapping attempt, Tristan, not knowing where he is and what to do, sits down and cries: "dâ saz er unde weinde aldâ; / wan kint kunnen anders niht / niwan weinen, alse in iht geschiht" (he sat down and cried; after all, children cannot do anything else but cry when something like that happens to them [2484–2486]).¹⁷

ENITE'S TEARS—A CRYING FEMALE PROTAGONIST EMERGES AS THE TRUE HEROINE

In one of the most significant moments in Hartmann von Aue's *Erec* (ca. 1190), which was extensively based on Chrétien de Troye's eponymous Arthurian romance, the protagonist suffers at one point from the heavy loss of blood and falls off his horse, seemingly, although not really, dead. Nevertheless, his wife Enite assumes the worst, and responds accordingly, displaying extreme, highly expressive emotions, grieving and mourning her loss: screaming, pulling her hair, hitting herself, crying, and accusing God for having treated her badly.¹⁸ Significantly, however, she is not performing mourning as a specific public ceremony because she is, in fact, alone and has no one to address.¹⁹ In other words, while she may follow standard strategies of mourning as described in courtly literature, her only audience is the one outside of the text. As the narrator emphasizes, Enite's screams echo throughout the forest, but without being heard by anyone (5746–5752), since she is completely abandoned. Realizing this, she throws herself upon Erec's body, kissing him, perhaps in a final desperate attempt to bring him back to life (5756), yet at that moment to no avail.

All her subsequent actions—pulling out her hair, beating her chest, lamenting—loudly conform, as the narrator underscores, to "wîplîchem site" (5762; "female customs"): here, the narrator fully approves of her behavior since it confirms her outstanding moral and ethical character, associating her with all other "good people" (5765) who accept suffering as a natural part of life. Once she begins to criticize God, however, her despair mounts: she blames Him for keeping her alive, while He has already taken the one whom she loves more than anyone else (5799–5802). In her desperation, Enite asks that wild animals kill her to take away her enormous pain. Her pleading, of course, is in vain, which increases the flow of her tears even further: in fact, the narrator emphasizes that the animals should have been there to help her in mourning Erec's death with their own tears (5866). These tears, then, would represent the extent to which this poor woman would have to be pitied (5868), which indicates how much crying could invite bystanders to join the suffering person in order to create a new community of mourners. Nevertheless, Enite remains alone, and even her request for Death to arrive and take her life is denied. We do not hear any

further whether she continues crying, but her growing determination to commit suicide underscores the impact that tears could have on the psychological setup of a protagonist.

When Count Limors, who prevents Enite from committing suicide, takes her and Erec's "corpse" with him to his castle and forces her to sit down with him for dinner, the narrative focus returns to her sorrowful appearance, since her tears flow so copiously that she wets the entire tablecloth: "trehene begunde si vellen: / der tisch wart von ir ougen naz / al des endes dâ si saz" (she shed [many] tears: where she sat the table[cloth] became wet all over from them [6437–6449]). Whereas before her tears had expressed the deep desperation and hysteria over the loss of her husband, now she is shedding tears almost in defense of her love for Erec against the hostile count, who soon feels highly irritated about her excessive behavior and recognizes that her tears serve as a powerful means of resistance against his attempts to force her to marry him. Revealingly, the narrator comments: "ir klage was vil stæte" (her lamentation was continuous [6442]). In fact, the tears emerge as a barrier between her and the count, who soon turns to physical violence to break Enite's resistance. Her emotions, albeit quite visible in their display, are well hidden within herself and the outer defense established by her crying, yet she gains some free space to formulate them by means of the tears. His remark, "und wæret ir niht ein kint, / ir möhtet iuwer klage lân" (and if you are not a child, you will let go of your lamentation [6451–6452]), reveals how little he can achieve even with all his rhetoric to colonize her feelings.

When the count begins hitting her on her face, Enite's tears, along with her screams, serve to reach out to her husband, with whom she wants to be reunited beyond death (6568–6569). The noise and commotion wake up Erec (6587–6660) and he comes rushing to his wife's defense, surprising everyone present. Although the text does not speak explicitly of her tears, the external signs and expression of her mourning establish a novel relationship with her husband that will then determine the rest of the romance. From then on the married couple begins to talk to each other and they find ways to repair their previously dysfunctional relationship.

Tears, then, allow us to comprehend Enite's identity. At first she cries in direct response to her own emotions; then she uses the tears to defend herself against her attacker; finally, both her tears and screams reach out to her husband and bring him back to life. Altogether, Hartmann allows us to perceive in Enite a complex character with a rich personality and a wide range of emotions. When she breaks out in tears, her life and love are at stake, and she suffers profoundly from external threats and internal challenges. The poet portrays his female protagonist not simply as an emotionally weak character; instead, his interest obviously rests on exploring how to psychologize this remarkable woman and to trace her internal growth from being a very young bride to a mature wife, and ultimately to her husband's consort. Her tears clearly mark her passage through life and bring

her very close to the audience, evoking deep sympathy and great respect for her strength and resistance against physical violence.²⁰

SIGEBAND'S TEARS—A CRYING KING IN A HEROIC EPIC. A WEAK MALE RULER?

But men can also cry, especially when they suffer from a deep personal loss. This is the case in the life of King Sigeband, the founder of a dynasty that determines the heroic epic *Kudrun*, a most unusual narrative from the middle of the thirteenth century. Although *Kudrun* has survived only in one very late manuscript (*Ambraser Heldenbuch*, 1504–1514), modern scholarship has recognized in this text a remarkable literary document that easily defies many expectations of this genre. The basic premise consists of men's aggressive bridal quests, which regularly lead to warfare with disastrous outcomes until the parties realize that alternative exchanges are possible. Marriages then replace military aggression. At the end, however, this bridal quest theme is travestied because both Kudrun's father and his entire army are killed by the violent suitor and his men. Kudrun's mother, Hilde, and the few remaining warriors have to wait until the next generation has grown up and is ready to fight the enemy and to liberate the princess. Ultimately, this goal is achieved, and Kudrun, a remarkably wise young woman, convinces her mother to overcome the traditional warrior mentality and to resort to marriage diplomacy.²¹

Only once do we encounter a crying man and his guests in this curiously "courtly" heroic epic, and this in the very first generation, beginning with King Sigeband, whose young son Hagen is abducted by a griffin during a splendid court festival, bringing all public joys to an abrupt end. While everyone at court pays attention only to the entertainment, as expressed by the reference to communal laughter: "die liute begunden lachen" (people began to laugh [53, 2]),²² the infant boy Hagen is left unattended, except for his nurse, who is not strong or brave enough to defend the child and even drops him to rescue herself (57). The narrator immediately comments on the devastating consequences for the entire country, and especially for the father and lord who breaks out in tears: "daz muoste dô beweinen . . . ûz Irlânde der herre" (the lord of Ireland had to cry about this [59, 4]). Following his model, the other courtiers also begin to cry and to lament this horrible loss (60, 1–2), only to be outdone by the royal couple that grieves more than anyone else—a natural response, as to be expected.

Surprisingly, however, whereas the father cannot contain himself and continues to cry, unable to find any consolation (62, 1), his wife quickly recovers her inner strength—"mit zûhten sprach dô daz" (she said in well-mannered speech [62, 2])—and appeals to him to stop lamenting and to resume his royal leadership, irrespective of the enormous personal loss (62, 3–4). In fact, she assumes the political responsibilities, and respectfully

concludes the court festival, handing out gifts to all departing guests (64). Following her example, King Sigeband then resumes his role and passes out gifts as well, and the narrator never returns to this curious scene. Undoubtedly, as much as the loss of the only child must have hurt both parents, only the queen has a clear understanding of the political function expected from them, and does not allow emotions to overpower her.

While Sigeband's queen does not cry, women do weep copiously in the subsequent episodes, prompted usually by massive slaughter in battles with scores of men. When Queen Hilde realizes, for instance, that her army, in the absence of her husband Hetel, has been defeated by King Hartmuot, and that her daughter Kudrun and her chambermaids have been abducted, she sends a message to Hetel about her sorrow and crying (806), using her tears as a symbol of political and military defeat. Although Hetel then tries to recapture his daughter, he and many of his men are killed in the battle on the Wülpen-sant island. The old warrior Wate must bring the terrible news to his lady, and she and the entire surviving court break out in loud laments and tears (927). In this context, crying symbolizes the abrupt change in the political and military constellation, indicating profound loss of power and the destruction of the royal family. Thirteen years later, when a new generation of men has grown up and the campaign against Hartmuot has started under the leadership of Kudrun's fiancé Herwîc and her brother Ortwin, the latter two go on an exploratory mission before the attack, relying on their men's loyalty who temporarily stay behind. These, however, are very afraid for the messenger's lives and cry in public: "Die in getriuwe wâren, die weinten umbe daz" (those who were loyal to them cried for that reason [1183, 1]), thus underscoring their emotional and political attachment to these two leaders.

Kudrun's chambermaids also cry, but their tears are not directly related to their imprisonment and slavery. Rather, at one point when they hear that their lady has finally made the decision to abandon her resistance against her slaveholder and wooer Hartmuot and to accept his marriage proposal, they break down in desperation, afraid never to see their home country and families again: "sie weinten sumelîche" (they all cried together [1318, 4]). By contrast, however, Kudrun laughs in a relaxed manner about their behavior because she knows already that their rescuers are nearby. Here tears and laughter reflect different levels of control over public operations. The maids are helpless and do not see through Kudrun's strategy, whereas the latter is already maneuvering to set the stage for their liberation.

TEARS AS WEAKNESS AND DEFENSE

In the approximately contemporary verse novella *Mauritius von Craûn*, also copied in the *Ambraser Heldenbuch* and equally anonymous, we come across another man who, like Sigeband, breaks out in tears and cannot control his emotions. The narrative reflects upon the tragic development of the love affair

between Mauritius and his beloved Countess of Beamont, married to this weeping man. At first Mauritius's wooing seems to be successful, despite her sarcasm and mockery of his laments about his love pangs. Finally, however, she agrees to grant her love to him, but only on the condition that he organize a tournament on her behalf because she has never witnessed such a courtly event (595–603).²³ This fact by itself signals deep trouble at court and an ominous decline of courtly values because a court without courtly festivities, including tournaments,²⁴ would be void of courtly joys, or “*joie de curt*,” as Hartmann von Aue calls it in his *Erec*.²⁵ Mauritius is more than happy to comply and organizes the most elaborate tournament to which he arrives with an exorbitantly constructed ship pulled by horses from within—a perfect opera prop, we might say, at the risk of sounding anachronistic. Nevertheless, things go very wrong, although the protagonist achieves greatest triumphs in his own tournament, which is probably nothing but a theatrical show deviously organized by him to impress his lady (979–1020). After all, he effortlessly unhorses all his opponents and garners complete recognition from all participants and the audience as well: “*daz nie dehein man / sô grôzen prîs gewan / als er zuo den zîten*” (no man ever won a greater prize than he [1019–1020]).²⁶

By contrast, the countess's husband proves to be the very opposite and fails both as a husband, it seems, and as a knight. He has hardly entered the tournament field and begun with a joust when he kills his opponent by accident. This comes as a devastating blow to him and all the other knights since it threatens the end of the tournament. The count immediately withdraws from the field, takes off his arms, and retires into his private chamber, crying and grieving all day long. The details provided by the narrator deserve to be studied more carefully. The accident seems to happen very fast because there are only three verses dedicated to it. First we learn that the count came out of the castle (904), then we are told that his wife observed it all (905), and finally the narrator curtly remarks that the count killed the opposing (unidentified) knight (906). His response seems very reasonable, despite, or rather because of his emotional reaction, to which his wife also succumbs: “*Des wurden si beide / trûrec vor leide*” (Both became very sad because of their grief [907–908]). As soon as he has realized his terrible mistake in handling his weapon, he breaks out in tears, disarms, and rides back to the castle.

Everyone among the guests is deeply shocked, or should we rather say, unhappy, trusting the exact wording: “*des wurden si alle unfrô*” (914). No one really grieves or takes into consideration that one of their fellows has died; instead, they are deeply disappointed that this mortal accident possibly implies the end of the tournament before it has fully started. Mauritius, however, encourages them all to disregard the destiny of their dead companion and to continue with their tournament entertainment, although the narrator characterizes this almost blasphemous behavior as “*sünde*” (sin [917]), and blames Mauritius for transgressing basic Christian values and ethics insofar as he emerges in this situation as a person who cares little about the life of other people.²⁷

This leaves us with the crying Count of Beamont. He never cuts any significant figure, does not appear to know much about tournaments and knight-hood, handles his weapons clumsily, does not welcome all the guests properly, and immediately abandons them all once the terrible accident has happened. His path is that of a man of sorrows (916), but we cannot fully develop sympathy with him and his emotional devastation over the death of the other knight. Of course, this accident represents a catastrophe, but it was neither that unusual—no tournament was totally safe—nor was it unavoidable. Mauritius, for instance, does not kill any of his enemies, though he defeats them all. The count's tears seem endless. He is so deeply shaken and guilt-ridden that he cannot fall asleep in the evening, thereby preventing his wife from sneaking away and consummating her affair with Mauritius. As the maid reports to the wooer, the count cried all day long and lamented Mauritius's coming and staging of the tournament in the first place (1198–1209).

We might argue that the count's tears that ostensibly symbolize weakness also prove to be the only weapon he has available against Mauritius's advances toward his wife. Because the Countess cannot leave in time to see her lover, Mauritius is forced to wait and so falls asleep, thereby destroying his mistress's interest in an affair with him because she considers him, once she has arrived, unreliable and untrustworthy as a lover. In fact, she departs again, leaving the knight behind, who is caught in a nightmare and does not know what is going on. Although the protagonist subsequently forces his way into the bedroom and knocks out the husband by pretending to be the ghost of the knight the count had killed earlier, and although he then gets his wish fulfilled—a sexual union with his lady—he considers the entire situation most disgusting and feels badly abused by her, although we might also be in a good position to argue that he actually committed date rape with her. The count, however, frightened by Mauritius, hits himself on his shin and falls into a coma—a fitting outcome of this odd figure of a weeping husband, who cannot even defend his wife when a threatening male competitor appears.²⁸ His tears are of the same kind as the tears by King Sigeband in *Kudrun*, inasmuch as they clearly indicate the extent to which, at least for this man, courtly culture has come to an end. Not that Mauritius would emerge as a true defender of those values, but the Count betrays most explicitly how much chivalry has been abandoned by him.

KONRAD FLECK'S *FLÔRE AND BLANSCHÉFLÛR* (ca. 1220–1240)—TEARS AS EVIDENCE FOR THE SINCERITY OF LOVE

Nevertheless, male crying does not always indicate weakness, as the example of Konrad Fleck's *Flôre and Blanscheflûr* indicates. Fleck, who composed the romance in the first half of the thirteenth century (ca. 1220–1240), closely followed the original Old French version, created perhaps several decades before his. There were many other variants throughout Europe far

into the late Middle Ages and the early modern age, all of them are predicated on a most sentimental experience, the precocious love between these two young people who are actually separated by deep social and religious barriers.²⁹ The author specifically alludes to the conflict between Christians and Muslims, but he also mentions the extraordinary power of love, which ultimately overcomes all conflicts and material barriers, finally allowing both young protagonists to reunite and to force the older generation to grant them the privilege to marry.³⁰ In all pan-European versions we come across the same strategic constellation where the Muslim parents of Flôre, having sold the young Christian woman Blanscheflûr into slavery, pretend to their son that she has actually died. This news comes for him as a terrible shock, and he breaks out in a flood of tears (Fleck's version: 1036).

At the same time, Blanscheflûr, who has been sold away, goes through the same intense experience of sorrow, which she reveals in a monologue once she has arrived to Babylon as a slave. She knows, however, of Flôre's deep amatory commitment to her: after all, he had already cried bitter tears when he had to leave the court (and her) to attend school far away: "jâ herre, im was der muot / sô trûric, dô er dannen schiet, / daz er weinen geriet, / und in diu vart begunde riuwen" (Yes Lord, his mind was filled with such sorrow that when he left he began to cry and to regret that he begun with the travel in the first place [1788–1790]). From her perspective, which is supposed to be the same as the one embraced and pursued by the courtly audience, tears reflect true sentiments and are deemed to be extraordinary expressions of deep feelings. These in turn represent ethical values and elevate those who cry to the highest possible level in a secular society because of the intensity and sincerity of their feelings for a beloved person. It is notable that even though Blanscheflûr expresses her deep devotion to the Christian God by way of crying (1740–1742) and praying (1743ff.), here religious differences are supposed to be neglected in favor of feelings of love, which can connect individuals from completely different cultures, as reflected by their sincere tears (1784–1789).

In the meantime, Flôre's parents worry about his dramatic reaction to the false news of Blanscheflûr's death and have a fake tomb built that displays most amazing carvings and an inscription that allegedly confirm the young woman's demise (1947–2117).³¹ When Flôre appears, having completed his studies, he soon learns from the girl's mother (unnamed) that she has died and is buried in the tomb. This news shocks him so much that he almost faints and can no longer speak. Blanscheflûr's mother reacts with horror upon this development and breaks out in loud shrieks and crying as well: "sie begunde weinen unde schrê" (2174), documenting publicly her profound feelings of sympathy and pity for the two young lovers, not to mention her feeling of sorrow over the loss of her own daughter.

This commotion attracts Flôre's parents, who are mortally afraid that he might have died (2184), but the young man recovers from his collapse and is then led to the tomb, where he recognizes the images of his

beloved and of himself in the golden sculptures. While reading the letters of the inscription confirming the identity of these figures, he cries again: “weinde sprach er disiu wort” (he cried when he said the following words [2222]). Three times he swoons, but then he kneels in front of the tomb and reflects upon his tragic love affair with Blanscheflûr, which God did not allow to come to its fruition (2242–2245). His words are intermingled with tears (2236–2237); he reflects upon the beauty and grace of his lost mistress, meditates upon their love, praises Blanscheflûr’s extraordinary goodness and idealism, and projects in her the absolutely glorious image of a woman (2259–2285).

Flôre also evokes his endearing memories of their amorous time together as students, exchanging letters with each other in Latin (2286–2291), almost in the vein of famous Abelard and Heloise. As often in such a situation—see Enite’s lamentations over the presumed death of her husband in Hartmann von Aue’s *Erec*—the mourner attacks anthropomorphized death and accuses it of having been immodest and too hasty (2302–2319).³² Resolutely he decides to commit suicide as the only remaining solution for him, pulling out a golden stylus that Blanscheflûr had given him as a gift before his departure. Shedding more tears, Flôre addresses the stylus, treating it as a synecdoche for his beloved (2364–2383). But just when he is about to stab himself to death, his mother notices his attempts and wrings the weapon out of his hand. Having saved him from suicide, she goes to her husband and convinces him, after some rather bitter exchanges, during which the king deliberately plays the incensed and wrathful father, to allow her to reveal the truth about Blanscheflûr.³³ Once she has been able to change her husband’s mind, she returns to Flôre to bring him the “good” news. She finds her son lying in front of the tomb, crying his soul out, desperately longing for his lost love: “und vant in mit ungehabe / jâmerliche schrîen / nâch sîner âmîen / der sîn herze nie vergaz” (she found him displaying great sorrow, crying miserably for his beloved whom his heart never forgot [2494–2497]). She now reveals the full truth about Blanscheflûr, although he does not want to believe her for some time.

The narrative continues from here in a most interesting manner, with Flôre searching for his beloved far and wide until he finally succeeds in his efforts, leading to their marriage and the conversion of his own people back in Spain to Christianity. Ironically, however, at the very point of his departure, once he has said good-bye to his parents, they break out in tears, deeply afraid that they might never see their son again (2928–2950). Suffering and sorrow now rests with them, whereas he is finally free from parental supervision and can embark on his own life, determined by his irresistible desire to find Blanscheflûr: “des weinen, ob sie wellen” (they could cry as much as they wanted [2950]). Insofar as he has now a goal, and dreams of finding his girlfriend again, he no longer needs to cry because his hope has instilled him with new strength and energy. The opposite is the case with his parents.

Very similar to the highly “sentimental” romance *Mai und Beafloer*, which is even more determined by crying and emotional departures, Fleck’s version of this famous *Floris* narrative explores in great detail the significance of tears as external reflections of internal emotional and physical conditions. Insofar as the protagonists shed tears at crucial moments in their lives, they communicate most impressively with their contemporaries about the importance of their emotional attachments and needs. Flôre’s crying, for instance, fully achieves its purposes of conveying his absolute resolution to commit suicide or to go on a quest for his beloved. His mother realizes quickly that she must grant him the second option; otherwise both she and her husband would lose him for good. Although not characterized by verbal language, tears speak a most dramatic, even if not always very clear and understandable, language. Despite his young age, Flôre demonstrates, on a regular basis, his complete dedication to his beloved by means of tears. Even though King Sigeband and Count Beaumont cry publicly, they are not identified as outstanding and independent characters. By contrast, Flôre and Enite illustrate to the reading public that crying itself can carry enormous political and social meaning, creating individual space and identity for the person who sheds tears.

Crying by and in itself informs the public that a dramatic change has happened and that life will not continue as in the past.³⁴ Here, it has nothing to do with gender difference; rather, breaking out in tears depends very much on specific situations, psychological conditions, and character performances. This is demonstrated by the fact that Blanscheflûr’s mother—who, at the beginning of the tale, observes the battlefield strewn with dead bodies—upon discovering her father’s corpse begins to cry and convey her deep feelings regarding the loss of her family: “dô sî ir vater ligen sach / bî den andern erslagen” (when she saw her father lying among the others who were all slaughtered [434–435]). For the narrator, this means that no other woman had ever mourned more painfully for her killed father: “ich wæn nie frouwe leides mêre / von grôzen schulden gewan” (I believe that no other woman ever gained so much pain [438–439]). Afterwards, she is abducted by the Muslim forces and becomes, despite her status as a Christian, a highly regarded member of the court because of her beauty: “den künic dûhte der gewin / an der fro-wen daz beste” (the king regarded her as the highest prize of all his gains [444–445]). Her continuous stream of tears demonstrates her deep suffering, but also her profound concept of ethics and morality. This lady’s crying represents the highest degree of virtuousness and chastity ever to be found in a woman, which leads the narrator to reflect upon women’s crying at large, which regularly results from men’s “törperheit” (boorishness, perhaps better: crudeness [456]). Because of women’s physical weakness, they would have no other means available but to fight back at men’s evil behavior and mistreatment by resorting to tears, shed both publicly and privately (458). In fact, the anonymous author emerges as

women's fervent defender who severely admonishes men to abstain from aggressive actions against them: "daz in got hie schende / swer frouwen fröude wende" (may God cast shame upon him who destroys women's joys [461–462]). By contrast, he who would be able to make women laugh (in a virtuous manner, as he surely implies), would quickly gain their love: "swer aber daz gemache / daz ein frouwe lache, / dem müeze ir minne werden teil!" (he who manages to make women laugh will be the recipient of their love [463–465]).

Almost at the end of the narrative we observe another meaningful scene where crying reflects fundamental courtly values and suggests that the collective of courtiers identifies with the same ideals as the two young lovers. After Flôre and Blanscheflûr have found each other and enjoyed their secret time together for twenty days, they are discovered by a servant and betrayed. As a consequence they are supposed to suffer the death penalty. The emir has already pulled out his sword and is about to slaughter the first of the two, but their love for each other is so great that neither one of them can tolerate the thought of seeing the other one die before him or her. A veritable fight breaks out between Flôre and Blanscheflûr: each one wants to die instead of the other (7160–7191). When the bystanders realize how much tender and passionate love fills the hearts of these two young people, they all respond highly emotionally and begin to cry: "do enmohte niemen lâzen / er enmüste weinen" (no one could avoid it, each one had to cry [7196–7197]). Moreover, they shout out and appeal to their lord to spare the lives of these two young people who are ennobled by their love for each other: "vergebent, herre, vergebent" (forgive, oh lord, forgive [7221]). Indeed, a miracle then happens: both the extraordinary display of love by the two young people and the collective outcry and shedding of tears by the entire court bring about the emir's radical change of heart. Whereas before he had operated like a tyrannical ruler, now he performs as a "bescheiden man" (reasonable man [7471]).

Finally, Flôre must cry one more time, but now for very different reasons and long after he has been knighted and married to Blanscheflûr. Messengers arrive and report of his father's death; hence the request by the barons that he return and assume his father's throne. The young man breaks out in tears and deeply laments his father's passing away, and his new wife joins him in his mourning: "sölch jâmer im gebôt / daz er claget unde weinde. / Blanscheflûr ouch erscheinde / daz ir was gemeine gar / swaz sô ir gesellen war, / und half im ouch weinen" (the sorrow forced him to lament and to cry. Blanscheflûr demonstrated that she shared in everything with her companion, and joined him in his crying [7674–7679]). Significantly, the deep love that bonds both together helps them to overcome the pain relatively quickly (7680–7683), so they can soon take action, request permission to leave the emir's court, and return home. The emir's entire court likewise sheds tears when the couple says good-bye (7760–7762), which expresses the close emotional ties among them all.

The differences in religion, culture, and language do not seem to matter at all, whereas they all share the same ethical values and a profound sense of friendship and mutual love in social terms.

CONCLUSION

We could easily continue to pursue the theme of crying in medieval German literature far into the fifteenth century and beyond, especially if we consider such “sentimental” romances as the anonymous *Mai und Beaflo* (ca. 1280–1290)³⁵ or Johann von Würzburg’s *Wilhelm von Österreich* (1314).³⁶ In the fifteenth-century prose novels, such as Elisabeth von Nassau-Saarbrücken’s *Königin Sibille*, *Huge Scheppel*, or *Loher und Maller*, the treatment of crying repeatedly underscores major events and catastrophic developments, whether shedding of tears reflects a ritual performance all by itself or serves to ventilate emotions and to resort to nonverbal communication among courtly society, reemphasizing traditional ethical and moral values and ideals. Nevertheless, here as well the wide range of specific functions of tears constantly require careful analysis and allow us to gain far-reaching insights into the mental structure of courtly society, as reflected by medieval German literature. Even in heroic epics we can find ominous moments when some of the protagonists—sometimes even men—begin to cry to express their profound sense of sorrow over the loss of a child or a friend, or the imminent death of the entire company. The separation of lovers in courtly and sentimental romances regularly triggers a whole stream of tears, which tend to conform to ritualistic traditions as discussed by scholars such as Althoff and Koch, and yet still open a window into concrete emotions that the authors hoped to examine through their literary presentations, as suggested by Dinzelsbacher.³⁷ The present selection of representative textual samples has already indicated that limitations as to the choice of a literary genre did not really exist as to the critical treatment of crying.

A fundamentally human trait, crying, just as laughter or expressions of anger, brings those heroes who cry surprisingly close to us even today, and distances from us precisely those who march into war without showing any emotions. Even though not everyone who sheds tears gains our admiration, we have seen that medieval German authors paid extensive attention to situations in which individuals shed tears regularly, and treated those who mourned painfully or out of existential fear with great respect. In most, though certainly not all, cases, then, the protagonist who sheds tears demonstrates considerable internal stress and emotions. So, Enite’s tears, inasmuch as they indicate her maturity level and loving devotion to her husband presumed to be dead, demonstrate how much she stands head over shoulders compared to Count Limors. Crying proves to be a sign of divine grace, of the power of true love, of inner strength, and of the individual’s readiness to die to follow a deceased partner into death. We would stretch

the evidence if we compared Enite to the crying Virgin Mary, but her tears reflect, similarly to those shed by Christ's sorrowful mother, the nobility of her soul.³⁸ In Middle High German romance literature tears often serve very specific ritual purposes, but they also reveal the profound and highly complex world of emotions characteristic of the courtly world.

NOTES

1. On the ability of tears to bring to light fundamental social and ethical values of any given society, see the contributions to Larissa Z. Tiedens and Colin Wayne Leach, eds., *The Social Life of Emotions, Studies in Emotion and Social Interaction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); and to Susannah Radstone, Corinne Squire, and Amal Treacher, eds., *Public Emotions*, vol. 6, *Perri* (Houndmills, UK: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007); James D. Laird, *Feelings: The Perception of Self. Series in Affective Science* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007). Vincent-Buffault's *History of Tears* discusses this phenomenon for eighteenth- and nineteenth-century France.
2. Günther Blaicher, "Das Weinen in mittellenglischer Zeit: Studien zur Gebärde des Weinens in historischen Quellen und literarischen Texten" (PhD diss., Saarbrücken, 1966); Alfred Stern, *Philosophie des Lachens und Weinens*, vol. 18, *Überlieferung und Aufgabe* (1949; repr., Vienna: R. Oldenbourg, 1980)—the original French text was translated into Spanish and German, but not into English. Most importantly, see Lutz, *Crying*.
3. See the excellent contributions to Peter Dinzelsbacher, ed., *Europäische Mentalitätsgeschichte: Hauptthemen in Einzeldarstellungen*, 2nd revised and expanded ed. (1993; repr., Stuttgart: Alfred Kröner, 2008). However, neither crying nor tears are specifically addressed here. The history of fear or anger has already been investigated from various perspectives; see, for instance, Peter Dinzelsbacher, *Angst im Mittelalter: Teufels-, Todes- und Gotteserfahrung: Mentalitätsgeschichte und Ikonographie* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1996); Nancy Caciola, "Discerning Spirits: Divine and Demonic Possessions in the Middle Ages," in *Conjunctions of Religion & Power in the Medieval Past*, ed. Barbara H. Rosenwein (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003); see also the contributions to Rosenwein, *Anger's Past*; for the expression of emotions, see Jaeger and Kasten, *Codierungen*; Elke Koch, *Trauer und Identität: Inszenierungen von Emotionen in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters. Trends in Medieval Philology 8* (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 2006), relies too much on the theoretical model of emotions as naive expressions of ritual behavior.
4. Weinand, *Tränen*, 15–18, offers a brief overview of the current state of research. Without dismissing all these older studies, we can safely categorize them as valuable, but not very far-reaching fact-finding investigations, with little interest in questions regarding tears as expressions of social, mental-historical, and affect-conditioned human expressions. Weinand nicely collects the large number of relevant examples in medieval German literature and categorizes them in multiple fashion (mourning over a dead person, tears at the departure of a beloved friend, crying out of sorrow and religious repentance, etc.), without really developing interpretative approaches.
5. Michaela Diers, *Vom Nutzen der Tränen: über den Umgang mit Leben und Tod im Mittelalter und heute* (Cologne: Dumont, 1994).
6. Koch, *Trauer und Identität*, 48–68.

7. For an extensive collection of relevant examples, see Weinand, *Tränen*.
8. Peter Dinzelbacher, "Gefühl und Gesellschaft im Mittelalter," in *Höfische Literatur, Hofgesellschaft, höfische Lebensformen um 1200: Kolloquium am Zentrum für Interdisziplinäre Forschung der Universität Bielefeld* (3. bis 5. November 1983), ed. Gert Kaiser and Jan-Dirk Müller, 213–241 (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1986); in strong opposition: Althoff, "Empörung," 268. The present chapter pursues a middle ground, suggesting that both ritualistic behavior and deep-seated emotions found expressions in those narrative sections where the protagonists operate intensively with tears. For a global, mental-historically founded study, see Peter Dinzelbacher, *Warum weint der König? Eine Kritik des mediävistischen Panritualismus* (Badenweiler: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag, 2009). He argues quite convincingly in opposition to Althoff's approach, alerting us to the danger of disconnecting the ritual of crying, or of other public demonstrations of emotions, from the core causality, hence emotions, after all.
9. See, for example, the contributions to Vaught and Bruckner, *Grief and Gender*.
10. "Die meisten Zeichen für Emotionen jedenfalls sind Ergebnisse von sozialen oder kulturellen Konstruktionen." Gerd Althoff, "Tränen und Freude: Was interessiert Mittelalter-Historiker an Emotionen?" *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 40 (2006): 2.
11. "Die eingegangene Verpflichtung wurde als bindender eingeschätzt, wenn sie durch Tränen der Reue über früheres Verhalten beglaubigt wurde. Dies bedeutet zugleich, daß das Bewußtsein von der Echtheit und Wahrhaftigkeit von Emotionen durchaus entwickelt war. Emotionen dienten als Beglaubigungsmittel und erhöhten den Verpflichtungsgrad" (Althoff, "Tränen und Freude," 11).
12. For the absence of tears in Anglo-Saxon heroic literature, see the chapter by Tracey-Ann Cooper in this volume.
13. Weinand, *Tränen*, 69, correctly differentiates between the harsh and practically unmovable Hagen (except in this specific scene) and many of the other heroic characters who burst into tears on a number of occasions that are closely affiliated with the courtly world.
14. Karl Bartsch and Helmut de Boor, eds., *Das Nibelungenlied: Mittelhochdeutsch / Neuhochdeutsch*, trans. and annotated Siegfried Grosse (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1997). All citations refer to the stanza first, then to the verse. Cf. Werner Hoffmann, *Das Nibelungenlied. Grundlagen und Gedanken zum Verständnis erzählender Literatur* (Frankfurt: Diesterweg, 1987), 72, convincingly points out that the passing of the shield to Hagen represents only a symbolic gesture. The subsequent tears underscore the importance of friendship especially in face of death.
15. For an excellent, psychological reading of this scene, well grounded in a solid philological analysis, see Irmgard Gephart, *Der Zorn der Nibelungen: Rivalität und Rache im "Nibelungenlied"* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2005), 81–83.
16. Albrecht Classen, "Diu Klage—A Modern Text from the Middle Ages?" *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 96, no. 3 (1995): 315–329; Albrecht Classen, "Trauer müssen sie tragen: Postklassische Ästhetik des 13. Jahrhunderts in der Klage," *Ostbairische Grenzmarken. Passauer Jahrbuch für Geschichte, Kunst und Volkskunde* 41 (1999): 51–68.
17. Gottfried von Strassburg, *Tristan*, after the text by Friedrich Ranke, new translationben, commentary and annotation by Rüdiger Krohn, 3 vols. (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1980). For an excellent overview of the current state of research, see Tomas Tomasek, *Gottfried von Straßburg* (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2007). For the role of children in the Middle Ages, see the contributions to Albrecht Classen, ed., *Childhood in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*:

The Results of a Paradigm Shift in the History of Mentality (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2005).

18. Hartmann von Aue, *Erec*, ed. Albert Leitzmann, continued by Ludwig Wolff. 7th ed. by Kurt Gärtner (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2006), vv. 5730ff. For an English translation, see Hartmann von Aue, *The Complete Works of Hartmann von Aue*, trans. with commentary by Frank Tobin, Kim Vivian, and Richard H. Lawson (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001). Here I will use my own translation. For a good critical approach to Hartmann's work in English, see Will Hasty, *Adventures in Interpretation: The Works of Hartmann von Aue and Their Critical Reception. Literary Criticism in Perspective* (Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1996). See also the contributions to Francis G. Gentry, ed., "A Companion to the Works of Hartmann von Aue," in *Studies in German Literature, Linguistics, and Culture* (Rochester, NY: Boydell Brewer, 2005).
19. For a discussion of ritualized mourning in trecento Italy, see Judith Steinhoff's chapter in this volume.
20. Eva-Maria Carne, *Die Frauengestalten bei Hartmann von Aue: Ihre Bedeutung im Aufbau und Gehalt der Epen*, vol. 31, *Marburger Beiträge zur Germanistik* (Marburg: Elwert, 1970), 56–60, 88–97.
21. Winder McConnell, *The Epic of Kudrun: A Critical Commentary*, vol. 463, *Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik* (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1988), is still the best close reading of this work in the English language. See also Barbara Siebert, *Rezeption und Produktion: Bezugssysteme in der "Kudrun,"* vol. 491, *Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik* (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1988); Franziska Wenzel, "Die Geschichte des gefährlichen Brautvaters: ein strukturalistisch-anthropologisches Experiment zur *Kudrun*," *Euphorion* 99, no. 3 (2005): 395–423.
22. Karl Stackmann, ed., *Kudrun*, vol. 115, *Altdeutsche Textbibliothek* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2000). The text was translated recently twice, by Marion E. Gibbs and Sidney M. Johnson, *Kudrun. The Garland Library of Medieval Literature, Series B* 79 (New York and London: Garland, 1992); and by Winder McConnell, *Kudrun. Medieval Texts and Translations* (Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1992).
23. Heimo Reinitzer, ed., *Mauritius von Craûn*, vol. 113, *Altdeutsche Textbibliothek* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2000).
24. Josef Fleckenstein, ed., *Das ritterliche Turnier im Mittelalter: Beiträge zu einer vergleichenden Formen- und Verhaltensgeschichte*, vol. 80, *Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1985 [appeared in 1986]); Helmut Nickel, "The Tournament," in *The Study of Chivalry: Resources and Approaches*, ed. Howell Chicerking and Thomas H. Seiler, 213–262 (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1988). For the general decline in chivalry, see the contributions to Liam O. Purdon and Cindy L. Vitto, eds., *The Rusted Hauberk: Feudal Ideals of Order and Their Decline* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1994).
25. Hartmann von Aue, *Erec*, 9601; for a thorough discussion of the term "joy," see Siegfried Christoph, "The Language and Culture of Joy," in *Words of Love and Love of Words in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. Albrecht Classen, 319–333 (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2008).
26. Susanne Plaumann, "Theatrale Züge in der Höfischen Repräsentation: Die Inszenierung des Turniers im 'Mauricius von Craûn,'" *Zeitschrift für Germanistik* 13, no. 1 (2003): 26–40; Albrecht Classen, "Moriz, Tristan, and Ulrich as Master Disguise Artists: Deconstruction and Reenactment of

- Courtliness in *Moriz von Craûn*, *Tristan als Mönch*, and Ulrich von Liechtenstein's *Frauendienst*," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 103, no. 4 (2004): 475–504.
27. Albrecht Classen, "Mauritius von Craûn and Otto von Freising's *The Two Cities*: Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Skepticism about Historical Progress and the Metaphor of the Ship," *German Quarterly* 79, no. 1 (2006): 28–49.
 28. For the belief in spirits during the Middle Ages, see Caciola, "Discerning Spirits." See also Aline G. Hornaday, "Visitors from Another Space: The Medieval Revenants as Foreigners," in *Meeting the Foreign in the Middle Ages*, ed. Albrecht Classen, 71–95 (New York and London: Routledge, 2002).
 29. Konrad Fleck, *Flore und Blanscheflûr*, ed. Emil Sommer, vol. 12, *Bibliothek der gesamten deutschen National-Literatur von der ältesten bis auf die neuere Zeit* (Quedlinburg and Leipzig: Druck und Verlag von Gottfried Basse, 1846); a new edition was recently created, but it is not yet publicly available, Christine Putzo, "Konrad Fleck, Flore und Blanscheflur. Neuedition und Untersuchungen zu Autor, Text und Überlieferung" (PhD diss., University of Hamburg, 2009). I have not had a chance to consult her work, and was only informed by her that she submitted her thesis for approval (via e-mail). For the pan-European dissemination of this narrative, see Elisabeth Frenzel, *Stoffe der Weltliteratur: Ein Lexikon dichtungsgeschichtlicher Längsschnitte Kröners Taschenausgabe* 300, 8th rev. ed. (Stuttgart: Alfred Kröner Verlag, 1992), 227–229; Albrecht Classen, "Floire et Blancheflor," in *Encyclopedia of Medieval Literature*, ed. Jay Ruud, 233–234 (New York: Facts on File, 2006).
 30. Roland Lande, "A Critical Review of the Major Studies of the Relationship between the Old French 'Floire et Blanceflor' and its Germanic Adaptations," *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 30 (1986): 1–19; Haiko Wandhoff, "Bilder der Liebe—Bilder des Todes: Konrad Flecks Flore-Roman und die Kunstbeschreibungen in der höfischen Epik des deutschen Mittelalters," in *Die poetische Ekphrasis von Kunstwerken: eine literarische Tradition der Großdichtung in Antike, Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, ed. Christine Ratkowitsch, 55–76 (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2006).
 31. For the ekphrastic functions, see Haiko Wandhoff, *Ekphrasis: Kunstbeschreibungen und virtuelle Räume in der Literatur des Mittelalters. Trends in Medieval Philology* 3 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2003), 301–316.
 32. Johannes of Tepl will later resort to the very same rhetorical strategies in his dialogue poem *Der Ackermann*, ed. Willy Krogmann, vol. 1, *Deutsche Klassiker des Mittelalters, Neue Folge*, 2nd ed. (Wiesbaden: F. A. Brockhaus, 1964).
 33. This is another excellent example of how much some male authors in the Middle Ages were willing to project powerful women who knew very well how to control their often rather irrational husbands and to bring them to reason. The queen truly proves to be a woman who, even though within the confines of a feudal and patriarchal society, can claim full power over her own agency and knows how to determine the further course of events (2448–2490); in this case in support of her own child who pursues goals completely contrary to those embraced by his father. For the concept of female agency in the Middle Ages, see Albrecht Classen, "Female Agency and Power in Gottfried von Strassburg's *Tristan*: The Irish Queen Isolde: New Perspectives," *Tristania* 23 (2005): 39–60. On pursuing a sexual

perspective in the gender relationships, see Rüdiger Schnell, "Macht im Dunkeln: Welchen Einfluß hatten Ehefrauen auf ihre Männer? Geschlechterkonstrukte in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit," in *Zivilisationsprozesse: Zu Erziehungsschriften in der Vormoderne*, ed. Rüdiger Schnell, 309–329 (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2004).

34. This scene would confirm, in a way, Gerd Althoff's argument as developed in his "Tränen und Freude," 2006. But it is not enough to limit ourselves to the ritualistic and hence political dimension of those tears; instead they critically reveal the young lover's true emotions, an ideal that the author obviously wants to convey to his audience. See also Jutta Eming, *Emotion und Expression: Untersuchungen zu deutschen und französischen Liebes- und Abenteuerromanen des 12. bis 16. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2006), who focuses primarily on the ritualistic elements of crying in this romance. For a social-historical approach to Konrad Fleck, see Katharina Altpeter-Jones, "Trafficking in Goods and Women: Love and Economics in Konrad Fleck's 'Flore und Blanscheflur'" (PhD diss., Duke University, 2004).
35. Albrecht Classen, ed. and trans., *Mai und Beaflo*, vol. 6, *Beihefte zur Mediävistik* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2006); see also Albrecht Classen, "Roman Sentimental in the Middle Ages? *Mai und Beaflo* as a Literary Reflection of the Medieval History of Emotions," *Oxford German Studies* 35, no. 2 (2006): 83–100.
36. Albrecht Juergens, 'Wilhelm von Österreich': *Johanns von Würzburg 'Historia Poetica' von 1314 und Aufgabenstellung einer narrativen Fürstenlehre*, vol. 21, *Mikrokosmos* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1990); Cora Dietl, *Minnerede, Roman und historia: der "Wilhelm von Österreich" Johanns von Würzburg*, vol. 87, *Hermaea, Neue Folge* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1999); Armin Schulz, *Poetik des Hybriden: Schema, Variation und intertextuelle Kombinatorik in der Minne- und Aventureepik: Willehalm von Orlens—Partonopier und Meliur—Wilhelm von Österreich—Die schöne Magelone*, vol. 161, *Philologische Studien und Quellen* (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 2000).
37. See the contributions to Jaeger and Kasten, *Codierungen*; Albrecht Classen, "Mai und Beaflo: Familientragödien, die Macht der Gefühle und rationales Kalkül in einem 'sentimentalen' Roman des späten 13. Jahrhunderts," *Futhark* 4 (2009): 85–107.
38. See Dinzelbacher, "Tränengabe," 1997.

Coda

Transmitting Despair by Manuscript and Print

Barbara H. Rosenwein

This is a chapter about two people who felt despair—or, at least, said that they did—and how their despair was transmitted to posterity. The first person, Margery Kempe, lived in the early fifteenth century. She dictated her despair and its accompanying thoughts, actions, and feelings to two amanuenses; the result survives in a single manuscript. The other, a mid-seventeenth-century nonconformist Protestant known only by the abbreviation A. O., had his or her despair recorded in a publication that was printed in two editions, the second of which survives today in a number of library copies. This chapter will compare the despairing aspects of the emotional lives of Margery and A. O. As we shall see, in both instances weeping was intimately connected to despair, but in very different ways. Although the age of print helped give despair great prominence, it did not guarantee that an individual's feelings would be better transmitted.

DESPAIR BY MANUSCRIPT

Born around 1373, Margery Kempe was a member of an important burgess family in Bishop's Lynn (later King's Lynn, in Norfolk, England).¹ At the age of twenty, she married John Kempe, also a Lynn townsman.² She bore fourteen children and never abandoned her marriage or joined a religious community. Eventually, however, she and her husband took mutual vows of chastity and lived in separate quarters. Later, when John became too ill to live alone, Margery returned to care for him.

Only one of her children figured to any degree in her story; Margery was far more focused on nonfamily members (especially clerics) who could validate “the prophetic truth in her career of ‘felyngys.’”³ She spent a number of years around and after 1413 traveling to visit holy people as well as holy places. For a while, she came under suspicion as a lollard, but she weathered that storm and ended her life as a member of the prestigious Guild of the Trinity at Lynn.⁴

By the mid-1420s, Margery had begun to dictate—in the vernacular English of her region—an account of her spiritual life that became for

modern commentators the *Book of Margery Kempe*.⁵ The *Book* contains many emotions. Andrew Cole has recently focused on the shame that Margery courted, “translating” it into a source of inward solace and comfort.⁶ Other commentators have made much of the prolonged bouts of weeping and roarings that punctuated her account.⁷ Why, then, focus on despair in this chapter? The answer is that at first it was the gateway through which Margery’s other affective experiences arrived and the catalyst for her emotional transformation; it also remained an implicit concern throughout her text.

If we ask: what is the first moment in which the *Book* presents Margery’s life turned “upside down (*vp-so-down*),” as is announced in the prologue of Book 1, the answer must be when she first bore a child: “what for the labor she had in childing and for the sickness going before, she despaired of her life, thinking she might not live.”⁸ Calling a priest, she tried to confess a “thing in conscience which she had never shown before that time,” but her confessor “was a little too hasty and began sharply to reprove her before she had fully said her intent.” Thus she kept silent, and “for the dread she had of damnation on the one side and his sharp reproving on that other side, this creature [this is how the *Book* refers to Margery] went out of her mind . . . for half a year, eight weeks and some odd days.”⁹ Tempted by devils during this time to deny God and all whom she loved, she followed their bad advice: she “slandered her husband, her friends and her own self; she spoke many a reproving word and many a harsh word.”¹⁰ She also turned against her own body, biting her hand and violently tearing at the “skin against her heart with her nails.”¹¹ It was at this juncture that Jesus first appeared to her—as a beautiful man at her bedside, asking, “Daughter, why have you forsaken me, and I forsook never you?”¹² After this vision, she returned to her senses.

We would be wrong to consider this as an episode of despair (or, worse, of postpartum depression), full stop. In this chapter, I look at the scripts—the sequences—in which emotions were embedded rather than focusing on a single emotion.¹³ In the case at hand, we see that despair led to an attempt to confess a sin to a priest. That clearly painful moment was followed by dread—both of the priest’s disapproval and of damnation. Dread, in turn, led Margery to deny God, to utter foul words against others, and to commit bodily violence against herself. Ending the emotional sequence was Christ, who came to her in the form of a beautiful man, strengthened her in spirit, and spoke to her for the first of many times, assuring her that he had not abandoned her.¹⁴ Did Margery weep then? She did not. She asked for the keys to the buttery. The episode was over, but Margery’s spiritual life was just beginning and her despair would recur.

That next occasion involved sexual temptation. Margery wished to cease having intercourse with her husband, for, though she still submitted, she found it “very painful and horrible.”¹⁵ Yet she was tempted by lechery. A man “whom she loved well” told her that he “would lie by her and have his

lust of his body.” Sure “that God had forsaken her” because she could think of nothing but the man’s proposition, she agreed. But then *he* refused, and she “went away all shamed and confused,” seeing how “she had consented in her will to do sin. Then she fell half in despair.”¹⁶ Again despair led first to confession and, in this case, to penance as well: “she was shriven many times and often, and did her penance, whatsoever her confessor would enjoin her to do, and was governed after the rules of the Church.”¹⁷ However, even though carried through to penance, confession had little effect. Margery was still beset by “temptations of lechery and despair,” with no respite except for two hours each day, when the Lord:

[G]ave her . . . compunction for her sins with many bitter tears. And afterward she was labored with temptations of despair as she was before and was as far from feeling grace as those who had never felt any. And that might she not bear, and therefore always she despaired.¹⁸

Thus despair took over not only Margery’s life as portrayed in the text, but also the text itself, where the word was reiterated in three contiguous sentences. Why was she so despairing? It seems that the underlying issue was fear that God had again abandoned her: she “ever mourned and sorrowed as though God had forsaken her.”¹⁹

In one of the chapels of the Lynn parish church where Margery ordinarily worshipped, she wept “wonder sore,” and Jesus Christ spoke to her: “Daughter, why weep you so sorely? . . . I . . . forgive you your sins to the uttermost point. . . . I bid you and command you, boldly call me Jesus, your love, for I am your lover and shall be your love without end.”²⁰ He told her to take communion every week. He warned her that she would be upbraided by others (“eaten and gnawed by the people of the world” as the *Book* put it) but promised her that he himself would forsake her neither “in weal or woe.”²¹ Telling her to limit her prayer, he commanded her instead to “think such thoughts as I will put into your mind.”²² Finally, he told her to show her secrets and revelations to a nearby Dominican anchorite. She did so, and the hermit wept, thanked God, and rejoiced.

Here despair set off two related sequences of emotional transformation. Paired with lechery, it convinced Margery that Christ had abandoned her. Then she began to weep in the prolonged way that was already characteristic of her piety.²³ But this time, the weeping was effective: it was the prelude to a new encounter with Christ, and it worked (at last) as an antidote to despair. Christ’s reassurance was the result. He also gave her various commands, including one to communicate her visions orally to the Dominican hermit. This led to the *hermit*’s emotional transformation. Nor was the hermit just anyone, though the text was cagey about naming him. He was one of Margery’s chief confessors.

But the emotional sequence did not end with the hermit’s weeping. For immediately thereafter, Margery saw Saint Anne, the mother of the

Virgin. This vision involved a reenactment of the birth and childhood of Mary but with a twist: Margery played nursemaid to the Virgin. She also in effect assumed the part of the Archangel Gabriel, announcing to the Virgin, "Lady, you shall be the mother of God." The Virgin replied, "I would I were worthy to be the handmaiden of her who shall conceive the son of God."²⁴ Here we see a third person emotionally transformed: the Virgin herself.

Despair was once again the source of affective change when Margery visited a monastery where all but one welcomed her and seated her at the abbot's table. The exception, a monk "who bore great office in that place,"²⁵ began by despising her, then felt drawn to her. Meeting her in the church, he asked that she tell him "whether I shall be saved or not and in what sins I have most displeased God."²⁶ Margery's answer was: "Go to your Mass, and if I may weep for you, I hope to have grace for you."²⁷ The connection between Margery's prolonged weeping and the monk's own despair and conversion were made clear in the dénouement: she "wept wonderfully for his sins" and learned from Christ that the monk had "sinned in lechery, in despair, and in the keeping of worldly goods."²⁸ Let us note that these had been Margery's sins as well. When she repeated Christ's words directly to the monk, he "stood still, somewhat abashed," and then asked for details.²⁹ Would he be saved? "Yes, sir, if you will work after my counsel. Sorrow for your sin, and I shall help you to sorrow; be shriven thereof and forsake it voluntarily. Leave the outside duties that you have, and God shall give you grace because of my love."³⁰ In the end, the monk's emotional transformation made for a total religious conversion, as he abandoned his sin and became "a well governed man and well disposed."

"I shall help you to sorrow": Margery was the expert in tears of compunction. Henceforth it was not despair that governed her emotional transformations but rather weeping and, soon, roaring. On a pilgrimage to the Holy Land (probably in 1413–1414), Margery visited the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. As the resident friars led the pilgrims through the various stations, they:

[T]old them what our Lord suffered in every place. And the foresaid creature wept and sobbed so plenteously as though she had seen our Lord with her bodily eye suffering his Passion at that time. . . . And when they came up onto the Mount of Calvary, she fell down so that she might not stand or kneel but wallowed and twisted with her body, spreading her arms abroad, and cried with a loud voice as though her heart should have burst asunder . . . And she had so great compassion and so great pain to see our Lord's pain that she might not keep herself from crying and roaring though she should have died from it. And this was the first cry that ever she cried in any contemplation.³¹

Thus far, I have treated Margery's despair—and despair's antidote, weeping—as fairly anodyne matters affecting mainly Margery and a few others positively moved by her. However, this is not how the *Book* treated the matter. In the *Book*, Margery's weeping was a public performance that brought great opprobrium upon her and even persecution. Yet, because the shame of the people was borne for Christ's sake, it was a source of great solace. It is telling that the full working out of the soteriological effect of mockery is presented in the *Book* precisely after the conversion of the despairing monk. At Canterbury (the next chapter begins), Margery "was greatly despised and reprov'd because she wept so hard, both by the monks and the priests and by secular men, nearly all day, both morning and afternoon, also in so much that her husband went away from her as if he had not known her."³² She responded by telling her persecutors a tale about a man who paid others to chide him, and she claimed that "at home . . . with great weeping and mourning, I sorrowed because I had no shame, scorn, and despite as I was worthy. I thank you all, sirs."³³ The mockery, however, only intensified as she walked out of the monastic precincts: "You shall be burnt, false lollard," the people cried. "Take and burn her." The *Book* made clear how utterly terrifying this was: "the creature stood still, trembling and quaking full sorely in her flesh, without any earthly comfort."³⁴ Yet, as she prayed, "two fair young men" found her and led her to her inn, where she found her husband. The chapter ends with Jesus telling Margery that "it would be impossible for you to suffer the scorns and despites that you shall have were not my grace alone supporting you."³⁵ And the next chapter begins, "Then this creature thought it was full merry to be reprov'd for God's love. It was to her great solace and comfort when she was chided and scolded."³⁶ "Merry" seems an odd word here until we realize that for Margery, Heaven itself was "full merry."³⁷

Later the *Book* explicitly celebrated Margery's triumph over despair. The episode began, as was by now usual, with opprobrium: a friar subjected Margery to constant public derision at Lynn. Anonymous in the *Book*, he may have been the Franciscan preacher William Melton.³⁸ Attracting a large crowd from various towns, he "preached much against the said creature, not expressing her name, but so he explained his conceits that men understood well that he meant her. . . . And then many of those who pretended their friendship . . . dared not well speak with her, of which the same priest was one, he who afterward wrote this book."³⁹ Nor did the friar stop at one sermon but would always in his other sermons "have a part against her, whether she were there or not, and caused many people to think evil of her many a day and long."⁴⁰ Some of Margery's friends told her that it would be best for her to leave town, since "so many people were against her." But she refused, saying, "in this town have I sinned. Therefore it is worthy that I suffer sorrow in this town there again. And yet have I not so much sorrow or shame as I have deserved."⁴¹ Her confessor asked what she should do, now that almost no one but he supported her. Her answer expressed utter

triumph: "Sir, be of a good comfort, for it shall be right well at the last. And I tell you truly, my Lord Jesus gives me great comfort in my soul, and else should I fall into despair. My blissful Lord Christ Jesus will not let me despair for any holy name that the good friar has, for my Lord tells me that he is angry with him, and he says to me it were better he were never born."⁴² Despair was conquered—and the venomous friar as well.

Clearly, the *Book* would have us think that Margery was surrounded by enemies and thus chosen for salvation. Yet, reading between the lines, we can see that she had friends as well, some of whom duplicated her emotional style.⁴³ We have already seen how Margery's despair was echoed by the sinful monk. She was ready to lend him her virtuosity in sorrow—that is, in tears of compunction. In Rome, Margery found a priest who could not understand English, but "desiring to please God," he prayed to understand her, enlisting the prayers of others as well.⁴⁴ In the end he understood her English (but only hers), and she revealed to him all her secrets. "Then this priest received her full meekly and reverently, like his mother and his sister."⁴⁵ He promised to support her against all her enemies. He was reviled for standing by her, but nevertheless continued to "support her in her sobbing and in her crying."⁴⁶ When she was ready to leave Rome for England, the two said their good-byes in tears. Then "she, falling on her knees, received the favor of his blessing, and so parted asunder those whom charity joined both in one."⁴⁷ Again at Rome, Margery "met casually with a good man . . . With him she had many good tales and many good exhortations till God visited him with tears of devotion and of compunction, to his high comfort and consolation. And then he gave her money."⁴⁸ A man at Newcastle "was so drawn by the good words that God put in her to say of contrition . . . that he was all moved, as if he had been a new man, with tears of contrition and compunction, both days and nights, . . . so that sometimes when he went into the fields he wept so sorely for his sins and his trespasses that he fell down and might not bear it."⁴⁹

Rather less frequently Margery found affective sisterhood. Some women took compassion on her, to be sure, like the well-heeled Italian woman who invited her to dinner every Sunday and gave her food and money.⁵⁰ There were also other "good women" who "having compassion for her sorrow and greatly marveling at her weeping and at her crying, much the more they loved her."⁵¹ The women at Beverley joined Margery in tears when, locked up there in 1417 to await trial as a lollard, Margery told "many good tales to those who would hear her, in so much that women wept sorely and said with great heaviness of their hearts, 'Alas, woman, why shall you be burnt?'"⁵² It is doubtful that these were the only women who partook in Margery's emotional norms.

Nevertheless, we must wonder whether the particular sequence of Margery's emotions was normative within the larger community. Let us review that sequence. First was despair, with its concomitant dread of God's abandonment. Then (sometimes following a series of other emotions, such as

sorrow and shame) came weeping by God's grace, proof that the despair had been overcome. Weeping was fairly common. The scribe of the *Book* himself made the point: while initially convinced by the vituperative friar, he became reconciled to Margery's "weeping and her crying" when "he read of a woman called Mary of Oignies and of her manner of living, . . . and of the plenteous tears that she wept, which made her so feeble and so weak."⁵³ Margery's scribe rightly noted that the vita of Marie d'Oignies (ca. 1177–1213) also chronicled the abundant tears of her priest, who had initially been put off by Marie's sobs but was convinced of their validity by his own weeping. Further, the scribe reported reading other devotional materials, all of which valorized sobs, roars, and cries. But was overcoming despair normative? Certainly, it was not unheard of. That is clear in the account of the wayward monk, whose emotional trajectory mirrored Margery's own. But when Margery's scribe sought arguments on behalf of his client, he did so in the realm of weeping, not despair.

The *Book* records Margery's visit to Julian, a recluse at Norwich and, as the *Book* put it, an "expert" at discerning godly from demonic revelations. Julian (1343–after 1416) reportedly spoke to Margery a good deal about the stable and unstable soul:

A double man in soul is ever unstable and unsteadfast in all his ways. He that is evermore doubting is like the flood of the sea, which is moved and borne about with the wind, and that man is not likely to receive the gifts of God. What creature that has these tokens [charity and chasteness], he must steadfastly believe that the Holy Ghost dwells in his soul. And much more, when God visits a creature with tears of contrition, devotion, or compassion, he may and ought to believe that the Holy Ghost is in his soul.⁵⁴

Here the "doubting soul" is very close to the despairing one, and the sign that God has not abandoned it is, precisely, weeping for the right reason. Further, it is true that despair figured in Julian's own *Revelation of Love*, where the very fact of seeing that Christ's suffering far outweighs our own "will save us from grumbling and despair in the feeling of our pains."⁵⁵ But in such a passage, it hardly functioned as the herald of emotional and religious transformation.

Emily Huber has done much to uncover the prose and poetic literature of despair in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.⁵⁶ Particularly important was despair's role as a leitmotif in Langland's *Piers Plowman*. But in Langland, wanhope (apparently equivalent to despair) tended to deaden people to life rather than awaken them to change.⁵⁷ In Chaucer's *Parson's Tale*, wanhope appeared after sloth in a parade of sins. Explicitly defined as despair here, wanhope was parsed as the fruit either of "outrageous sorrow (*sorwe*)" or "of too much dread (*to mucche drede*)."⁵⁸ The parson called it "sinning in the Holy Ghost" and reminded the sinner that repentance

would bring mercy. The sequence was not far from Margery's, though tears played no role. Thus, for our purposes here, it seems best to note simply that despair was known in Margery's day and that some members of her community experienced it as she did—as part of a sequence of emotions that led from dread to reassurance. However, it was not an essential part of religious feeling. This would change, as we shall see.

Margery's despair was initially transmitted through oral confession. Eventually, she decided to have her feelings written down. The task was not easy, according to the *Book*. Initially, Margery was so reviled that no one would agree to write on her account. Then, when she found a willing amanuensis, he knew German better than English. He completed part of the task before he died, but when Margery took his work to a priest to continue it, the poor man could hardly read it. However, he promised to try to “copy it out and write it better with good will.”⁵⁹ Eventually, as we have seen, this priest was among those so turned against Margery by the sermonizing friar that he “avoided and deferred the writing of this book well into a fourth year, or else more . . . At the last he said unto her that he could not read it, wherefore he would not do it.”⁶⁰ Then, converted by the example of Marie d'Oignies and others, he tried again and was able to copy most of it out and to fill in the rest with Margery's help. As she worked with this scribe, Margery added a “dictating self” to her weeping and roaring self.⁶¹

But the manuscript of Margery's amanuensis is not extant. Rather, we have a copy, probably made without an intermediary and quite close to the date of the original, by one Salthows, who was very likely from the same diocese (Norfolk) as Margery.⁶² By the end of the fifteenth century, Salthows's manuscript was in the hands of the monks of the Mount Grace Carthusian Priory in North Yorkshire. How was Margery's despair transmitted at that point?

The answer is that it was echoed and remarked upon by the monks at Mount Grace. Salthows's manuscript was quite certainly read and even busily annotated there by at least four monks. This has been discerned from the inks and handwriting used in the manuscript's marginal notations. The majority of these are in red ink and large lettering. Scattered throughout the text, they probably represent the comments of a late fifteenth-century or early sixteenth-century monk at Mount Grace. The other annotations are earlier and less important. The annotator who used red ink was the one concerned to “call attention to passages which seemed most worth while to him.”⁶³

In particular, this commentator marked the places where Margery's experiences reminded him of other—male—mystics. He cited Richard Methley, a Carthusian of Mount Grace, who was born in 1451 and professed as a monk in 1476; John Norton, a prior of that same house; and Richard Rolle, the well-known English mystic and hermit who died in the mid-fourteenth century.⁶⁴ The commentator also repeated in the margins particular words of note to him. The first was “dallied,” a word that had a range of meanings from “intimate talk” to “sexual intercourse.” In the

context, it was when “our Lord spoke and dallied her soul, teaching her.”⁶⁵ The second was the word “despair,” marking the first time that the word appeared in the manuscript in its noun form. Clearly Margery had transmitted her despair to this Carthusian monk.

And that was the end of the story of Margery’s despair until the twentieth century, when her *Book* was discovered in the collection of the Butler-Bowdon family and identified by Hope Emily Allen in 1934. A very few extracts of the book were, to be sure, published in the early sixteenth century by Wynkyn de Worde and Henry Pepwell: these consisted mainly of excerpts of the words of Christ to Margery and recorded nothing of her despair and very little of her feelings at all.⁶⁶ It was in the twentieth century that we learned of Margery’s despair and its accompaniments. The first edition of the *Book* was published by the Early English Text Society in 1940 and two others have since appeared, one online. Decades later, with scholarship newly focused on gender studies, Margery’s emotional life has become the topic of a steady stream of books, articles, and dissertations, though despair has figured surprisingly little in their purview.⁶⁷

DESPAIR IN PRINT

Let us now turn to A. O. and his (or her) times. The Reformation has taken place in England. The Church of England has been established, and a “hotter sort” of Protestantism has taken root as well among Puritans and other nonconformists.⁶⁸ The idea of despair was everywhere. In the hands of the learned Robert Burton (d. 1640), it was a bodily malady produced by the mind’s passions: “the mind most effectually works upon the body, producing by [its] passions and perturbations miraculous alternations [such] as melancholy, despair, cruel diseases, and sometimes death itself.”⁶⁹ For the poet Edmund Spenser, Despair was a demon whose unrelenting logic about their sins led men to commit suicide.⁷⁰ But at the same time influential religious reformers were *advocates* of despair. Luther made despair the beginning of salvation.⁷¹ Calvin thought that by falling “into deep despair of its own powers,” man’s conscience would at last seek God. He lauded the “dread of death” and despair because “both these emotions engender humility and self-abasement.”⁷²

By the mid-seventeenth century, despair was understood by many—especially many nonconformists in England—to be the necessary prelude to their true conversion and thus of their salvation. Despair was discovered through a process of rigorous self-examination involving, as Paola Baseotto has noted, “the progressive intensification of emotions such as sorrow for one’s sinful life, fear of damnation, despair of forgiveness and joy at detecting signs of election.”⁷³ The sequence was soon formalized in well over two hundred spiritual autobiographies, letters, and diaries.⁷⁴

In some instances, these conversion experiences were delivered as part of what we might call a “qualifying examination” for entry into a congregation. Certain “gathered churches” restricted their memberships to those who could demonstrate that they had been called to religion by God. Their testimonies were proof of their election. These were either performed orally or handed in as written accounts.⁷⁵ A. O.’s confession was probably made so that he (or she) could become a member of Henry Walker’s church in Westminster.⁷⁶

We know of A. O.’s experiences because they were recorded in a book called *Spirituell experiences, of sundry beleevers*.⁷⁷ His or her testimony was, like most of the sixty-one accounts contained in the book, very short and lacking in most personal detail. But let us try to squeeze from it what we can.

The squeezing is rather like making much of the “dear” at the start of a modern letter. Confessions like A. O.’s were very formulaic. Owen C. Watkins has described the pattern, which held for both men and women: first, people described the circumstances of their anguish and then of their conversion; second, they named the texts or sermons that had given them peace; and third, they enumerated the signs that assured them that they were in a state of grace.⁷⁸ In the case of A. O., the initial anguish was characterized by near despair and weeping: “About five years since, and for some two years space,” he or she reports, “I lay under very great temptations, and was ready to despair and for several nights [I] could not take any rest in my bed; but was very weak with weeping, and much grieved for my evil thoughts.”⁷⁹ Here we see a sequence much like that in Margery’s second episode of despair, where paired with lecherous thoughts it led to prolonged (but initially fruitless) bouts of weeping. Confession and penance were not available to A. O., but in their place A. O. sought comfort from “such godly Christians as I could meet withal to counsel me in the wayes of God.” Like Margery’s futile recourse to confession and penance, this did not help: “I found my heart very dul and heavy for that time.”⁸⁰

While Margery’s second episode included personal dialogue with Christ, A. O.’s transformative moment came via “some Sermons that I heard and bookes that I read, and some thoughts that the Lord settled upon my heart by his spirit.” Nevertheless, the particular passages that brought comfort were all in the first person, as though Christ were speaking: John 6:35: “I am the bread of life”; John 6:37: “Him that commeth to me, I will in no wise cast out”; John 14:1: “Let not your hearts be troubled”; and finally Jeremiah 31:23: “But this shall be the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel: . . . I will put my Law in their inward parts and write it in their hearts.”⁸¹ Finally, A. O. reported “a testimony of my believing.” The proofs of this belief were largely emotional states celebrating the overcoming of the fear of God’s abandonment: there were love and joy, for example: “I do so love God, not through slavish fear . . . and nothing [is] so great a joy to me, as that Christ . . . hath not left me.” There was surcease of

sorrow: "I find such comfort from the Lord, that he by his spirit revives my drooping heart." Love and comfort were associated directly with Holy Communion, but because A. O. was still not fully engaged with the religious life, Communion was also a source of grief: "When I cannot come to Ordinances it is a grief to me; and when I am in duty, it is a grief to me, that I am so dull and finde no more inlargement; yet my affections are groaning after the Lord Jesus Christ in the duties, and I have a great longing to receive more of Christ."⁸² Indeed, grief was induced at every step by the gap between desired joy and inadequacy: "What I desire to injoy, I seek to injoy it in God . . . and it is a great grief to me that I can serve my God no better." But at last came affirmation: "I do not fear death."⁸³

Is this to argue that the emotional sequence that allowed Margery to overcome despair became the prototype for Protestant confessions? Not at all. Let us recall that Margery had two major episodes of despair. The first, which involved no tears, led to her initial interview with Christ. But it represented only a tiny religious advance. The second episode was far more important, for it taught Margery that her weeping, if accompanied by the proper intentions and if potentially bothersome to others, led ineluctably to despair's final defeat. For Margery, tearful virtuosity and public disdain guaranteed victory over despair. For A. O., tears were, to the contrary, a sign of despair and proof of its reign. The two sequences were thus fundamentally different.

A. O.'s despair was presumably transmitted orally in its initial form. It was then written down and published. We can be quite certain that it was read. Vavasor Powell wrote a prefatory note "to the sober and spirituall Readers of this Booke" to recommend it. He spoke directly of the "poore distressed, doubting, despairing, and drowning soule," for whom the book would serve as a "bark" in stormy seas until "the Arke returne."⁸⁴ The independent Dublin preacher John Rogers also read it, for he reported that he could easily produce similar experiences in abundance, "and intended it, but that I am this very week prevented by a little piece titled, *Spiritual experiences of Sundry Believers*."⁸⁵ He persevered, however, and published his own collection, culled from his Dublin flock. At least four libraries today have copies of *Spirituell Experiences* and, thus, of A. O.'s account of his or her despair, and many libraries have it in microform.⁸⁶ Indeed, it is now available as part of the Early English Books On-Line data set.

It would thus seem that transmitting despair by book or by manuscript is about the same in the long run. But that is only if you consider potential readership. For in fact, A. O. is nearly invisible in the flurry of seventeenth-century testimonials and autobiographies that flooded the market and were, as John Rogers's remarks suggest, compelling readings in the aggregate. A. O.'s despair is decontextualized. We do not even know if this person was male or female. We know almost nothing, in fact, except that he or she had feelings, which is certainly useful. But these feelings were recorded in numerous similar accounts, so that their transmission, while powerful, is

rather like a badly tuned orchestra—each member playing the same piece, but in slightly different keys.

Of course, it would be possible to choose someone like John Bunyan to compare with Margery Kempe. Bunyan, who died in 1688, was a preacher, a prolific author, and pastor of a church in Bedford. His autobiography, *Grace Abounding*, certainly spoke of despair, which he felt, he reported, as early as his tenth year, when he was so afflicted by thoughts of Judgment Day that “I was . . . overcome with despair of Life and Heaven.”⁸⁷ *Grace Abounding*, first published in 1666, was a best seller in its day, with at least ten separate editions published by 1726.⁸⁸ Clearly Bunyan took advantage of the possibilities of transmission in the new print culture, and his despair has been recognized over the centuries far more fully than Margery’s.

But if we consider the layperson, as Margery and A. O. certainly were, then the advantages of print for the transmission of feeling become far less clear. To be sure, there may have been many people like Margery who did not seek an amanuensis and whose despair we shall never know about. But how different was their situation from that of A. O., whose identity was so immaterial to his or her testimonial that what was transmitted was hardly more than a formula—the skeleton of despair, without any flesh? In our own age the information revolution may have given us all virtual fora in which to transmit our despair or our joy. But let us not imagine that a tweet is comparable even to the testimony of A. O., let alone the lengthy musings of Margery Kempe.

NOTES

1. Margery’s father frequently served as mayor and in other civic positions. For background, see Kate Parker, “Lynn and the Making of a Mystic,” in *A Companion to The Book of Margery Kempe*, ed. John H. Arnold and Katherine J. Lewis, 55–76 (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004); and Anthony Goodman, *Margery Kempe and Her World* (London: Longman, 2002), 15–55. Was Margery a real person? One school of thought, influenced by Lynn Staley, *Margery Kempe’s Dissenting Fictions* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), sees the “Margery” of the manuscript as a well-honed fiction created by “Kempe.” I prefer to adopt the stance of John H. Arnold, “Margery’s Trials: Heresy, Lollardy and Dissent,” in *A Companion to The Book of Margery Kempe*, ed. John H. Arnold and Katherine J. Lewis, 76 (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004), who assumes “that there was a real, living woman from Lynn and that she was active in the creation of the *Book*; but that the *Book* is, indubitably, a text. No simple relationship can be assumed between what is written and historical reality.” This last point is particularly relevant to despair. I do not argue here that Margery “really” felt despair. I do assert, however, that she (and possibly her scribes) wished to *represent* her as feeling despair. On Margery’s scribes, there are again several views: Lynn Staley, “The Trope of the Scribe and the Question of Literary Authority in the Works of Julian of Norwich and Margery Kempe,” *Speculum* 66 (1991): 820–838, argues that the scribes were, if not quite fictions created by Kempe, certainly useful foils for her purposes. The other

side was long ago argued by John C. Hirsh, "Author and Scribe in *The Book of Margery Kempe*," *Medium Aevum* 44 (1975): 145–150, that "the second scribe, with Margery's help . . . took a part in forming the basic structure of the *Book*" (149) and was responsible for the very language of many sections. Suggesting that "authorship" is the wrong question, Felicity Riddy, "Text and Self in *The Book of Margery Kempe*," in *Voices in Dialogue: Reading Women in the Middle Ages*, ed. Linda Olson and Kathryn Kerby-Fulton, 435–453 (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005), argues for "a text, produced I do not know how" (438). Indeed, for the purposes of this chapter, which is about emotional norms, it does not ultimately matter who shaped the text. I am very grateful to Elina Gertsman and Fiona Somerset for extensive comments on this chapter, and I wish to thank as well Allen Frantzen, Piroška Nagy, and members of Grepssomm, Université du Québec à Montréal.

2. Margery Kempe, *The Book of Margery Kempe*, ed. Sanford Brown Meech and Hope Emily Allen, Early English Text Society (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1940) [henceforth BMK], appendix 3, 362–368.
3. Barry Windeatt, ed., *The Book of Margery Kempe* (Harlow: Longman, 2000), 26. On the support that Kempe received from the ecclesiastical community, see Janet Wilson, "Communities of Dissent: The Secular and Ecclesiastical Communities of Margery Kempe's *Book*," in *Medieval Women in Their Communities*, ed. Diane Watt, 155–185 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997).
4. For a chronology of events in her life, see Windeatt, *Book of Margery Kempe*, vii–viii; and see further Charity Scott Stokes, "Margery Kempe: Her Life and the Early History of Her Book," *Mystics Quarterly* 15 (1999): 3–67. On the chronology of her trials as a lollard, see Arnold, "Margery's Trials," 82–88.
5. Stokes, "Margery Kempe," 40–41. The text is called a "short treatise (schort tretys)" (BMK, prol., 1/1, 5/33) and a "book (booke)" (BMK, prol., 4/14). Here, as elsewhere, I cite the original text from BMK, followed by the chapter number (all from book 1), followed by the page number with line numbers following a slash unless the passage runs across more than one page. I use the translation in Lynn Staley, ed. and trans., *The Book of Margery Kempe* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2001), cited here as Staley. An online version of the original text is at <<http://www.lib.rochester.edu/camelot/teams/staley.htm>> (accessed May 2, 2011).
6. Andrew Cole, *Literature and Heresy in the Age of Chaucer* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 168–169.
7. See, for example, Karma Lochrie, *Margery Kempe and Translations of the Flesh* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991), chap. 2; Bhattacharji, "Tears and Screaming," 229–241; Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, *Medieval Identity Machines* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), chap. 5.
8. Staley, 6; BMK 1, 6/29–31: "what for labowr sche had in chyldyng & for sekenesse goyng befor, sche dyspered of hyr lyfe, wenyng sche mygth not leuyn."
9. Staley, 6–7; BMK 1, 6–7: "a thyng in conscyens which sche had neuyr schewyd be-for þat tyme. . . . [But] hir confessowr was a lytlyl to hastye & gan scharlyp to vndyrnemyn hir er þan sche had fully seyde hir entent. . . . And . . . for drede sche had of dampnacyon on þe to syde & hys scharp repreuyng on þat oþer syde, þis creatur went owt of hir mende . . . half 3er viij wekys & odde days."
10. Staley, 7; BMK 1, 7/33–35: "Sche slawndred hir husbond, hir frendys, and her owyn self; sche spak many a repreuows worde and many a schrewyd worde."

11. Staley, 7; BMK 1, 8/5: "a-zen hir hert wyth hir nayles."
12. Staley, 8; BMK 1, 8/20–21: "Dowtyr, why hast þow forsakyn me, and I forsoke neuyr þe?"
13. A useful model for this approach is Stephen D. White, "The Politics of Anger," in *Anger's Past: The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages*, ed. Barbara H. Rosenwein, 127–152 (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998). See also Robert A. Kaster, *Emotion, Restraint, and Community in Ancient Rome* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); and Barbara H. Rosenwein, "Thinking Historically about Medieval Emotions," *History Compass* 8, no. 8 (2010): 828–842.
14. Windeatt's "Introduction" in *A Companion* (7–16) sees these episodes of divine speech as the core of the *Book*.
15. Staley, 12; BMK 4, 14/25: "very peynful & horrybyl vn-to hir."
16. Staley, 12; BMK 4, 14–16: "a man whечsche louyd wel seyde on-to hir . . . þat for any-thing he wold ly be hir & haue hys lust of hys body. . . . Þe Deuyl put in hir mende þat God had forsakyn hir . . . [After consenting, the man refused her.] Sche went a-way al schamyd and confusyd in hir-self. . . . & now sche saw how sche had consentyd in hir wyl for to don synne. Þan fel sche half in dyspeyr."
17. Staley, 13; BMK 4, 16/8–11: "Sche was schrevyn many tymes & oftyen, and dede hir penawns what-so-euыр hir confessor wold in-joyne hir to do, & was gouerned aftyr þe rewelys of þe Chirch."
18. Staley, 13; BMK 4, 16/15–23: "[She] was labowrd wyth horrybyl temptacyons of lettherye & of dyspeyr . . . [but the Lord] zaf hir ech day for þe most party too owerys of comuncyon for hir synnys wyth many byttyr teerys. & sythen sche was labowrd wyth temptacyons of dyspeyr as sche was befor and was as for fro felyng of grace as þei þat neuыр felt noon. & þat mygth sche not beryn, & þerfor al-wey sche dyspeyrd."
19. Staley, 13; BMK 4, 16/25–26: "euыр mornyn & sorwyn as þow God had forsakyn hir."
20. Staley, 13; BMK 5, 16–17: "[She] wept wondir sore . . . [and Christ said to her] 'Dowtyr, why wepyst þow so sor? . . . I . . . forzeþe þe þi synnes to þe vtterest poynt. . . . I bydde þe & comawnd þe, boldly clepe me Ihesus, þi loue, for I am þi loue & schal be þi loue wyth-owtyn ende.'"
21. Staley, 14; BMK 5, 17/16–21: "Þow xalt ben etyn & knawyn of þe pepul of þe world. . . . I shal neuыр forsakyn þe in wel ne in wo." (Staley's translation slightly modified.)
22. Staley, 14; BMK 5, 17/27: "thynk swych thowtys as I wyl putt in þi mend."
23. We can see it already in Staley, 11: "her weeping was so plenteous and so continuing" (BMK 3, 13/21–24: "Hir wepyng was so plentuows and so contwynyng").
24. Staley, 15; BMK 6, 18/21–24: "Lady, ze shal be þe Modyr of God.' . . . 'I wold I wer worthy to be þe handmayden of hir þat xuld conseiue þe Sone of God.'" See Sponsler, "Drama and Piety," 142, on the role of English "drama as a model for the performance of Margery's spirituality." I owe Elina Gertsman the observation about Gabriel.
25. Staley, 20; BMK 12, 25/31: "whечbar gret offyce in þat place."
26. Staley, 20; BMK 12, 26/10–11: "wheþyr I schal be sauыd or nowt and in what synnes I haue most dysplesyd God."
27. Staley, 20; BMK 12, 26/13–14: "zyf I may wepe for zow I hope to han grace for zow."
28. Staley, 20–1; BMK 12, 26/15–20: "Sche wept wondyrly for hys synnes. . . . [and then Christ told her that the monk had] synned in letthery, in dyspeyr, & in wordly goodys kepyng."
29. Staley 21; BMK 12, 27/1: "Þan stod þe monke styll sumdel a-baschyd."

30. Staley 21; BMK 12, 27/4–8: “3a, syr, yf 3e wyl do aftyr my cownsel. Sorwyth for 3owr synne, & I xal help 3ow to sorwyn; beth schrevyn þerof & forsake it wylfully. Leuyth þe office þat 3e han wythowtynforth, & God schal zeue 3ow grace for my lofe.”
31. Staley, 50; BMK 28, 68/6–27: “& þe frerys al-vey . . . teld hem what owyr Lord sufferyd in euery place. & þe forseyd creatur wept & sobbyd so plentivowsly as þow sche had seyn owyr Lord wyth hir bodyly ey sufferynghys Passyon at þat tyme. . . . &, whan þei cam vp on-to þe Mownt of Caluarye, sche fel down þat sche mygth not stondyn ne knelyn but walwyd & wrestyd wyth hir body, spredynghir armys a-brode, & cryed wyth a lowde voys as þow hir hert xulde a brostyn a-sundyr. . . . & sche had so gret compassyon & so gret peyn to se owyr Lordys peyn þat sche myt not kepe hir-self fro kryng & roryng þow sche xuld a be ded þerfor. And þis was þe fyrst cry þat euyr sche cryed in any contemplacyon.”
32. Staley, 21; BMK 13, 27/19–24: “Sche was gretly despysed & repreuyd for cawse sche wept so fast bothyn of þe monkys & prestys & of seculer men ner al a day boþe a-for-noon & aftyr-noon, also jn so mech þat hyr husbond went a-way fro hir as he had not a knowyn hir.” I argue here that the connection of weeping to despair (weeping as despair’s antidote) in the *Book* has hitherto largely been overlooked. However, I do not mean to suggest that this was the sole function or significance of Margery’s tears. Tears were clearly overloaded with meanings. See Bhattacharji, “Tears and Screaming,” for traditions of pious weeping. Over the course of several studies, Piroska Nagy has explored many other meanings of tears; see, e.g., “Larmes et eucharistie. Formes du sacrifice en Occident au Moyen Âge central,” in *Pratiques de l’eucharistie dans les Églises d’Orient et d’Occident (Antiquité et Moyen Âge)*, ed. Nicole Bériou, Béatrice Caseau, and Dominique Rigaux, 2:1073–1109 (Paris: Institut d’Études augustiniennes, 2009). The present collection contributes importantly to our understanding of this “overdetermined” practice.
33. Staley, 22; BMK 13, 28/23–26: “at hom . . . wyth gret wepyng & mornyng, I sorwyd for I had no schame, skorne, & despyte as I was worthy. I thank 3ow alle, serys.”
34. Staley, 22; BMK 13, 28/29–35: “‘Pow xalt be brent, fals lollare.’ . . . Pan seyde þe pepyl, ‘Tak & bren hir.’ And þe creatur stod styлле, tremelyng & whakyng ful sor in hir flesch wythowtyn ony erdly comfort.”
35. Staley, 23; BMK 13, 29/24–26: “It were vnpossibyl to þe to suffyr þe scornys & despytes þat þow schalt haue ne were only my grace supportyng þe.”
36. Staley, 23; BMK 14, 29:27–29: “Than thys creatur þowt it was ful mery to be reprevyd for Goddys lofe; it was to hir gret solas & cownfort whan sche was chedyn & fletyn.” On Margery’s merriment in the face of spite, see Lochrie, *Margery Kempe*, chap. 4.
37. Staley, 10; BMK 3, 11/16: “it is ful mery in Hevyn.”
38. See BMK, 414, s.v. “Melton.”
39. Staley, 112; BMK 62, 152/17–33: “he prechyd meche a-geyn þe seyde creatur, not expressyng hir name, but so he expletyd hys conseytys þat men vndirstod wel þat he ment hir. . . . And þan many of hem þat pretendyd hir frenschep . . . durst not wel spekyn wyth hir, of þe which þe same preyste was on þat aftirward wrot þis boke.”
40. Staley, 113; BMK, 62, 154/17–20: “& al-vey he wolde in hys sermown haue a parte a-geyn hir, wheþyr sche wer þer er not, & cawsyd mech pepil to demyn wol euyl of hir many day & long.”
41. Staley, 114; BMK 63, 154/32–35: “so meche pepyl was a-geyn hir. . . . [But she replied,] ‘in þis town haue I synned. Perfor it is worthy þat I suffyr sorwe in þis town þera-geyn. & 3et haue I not so meche sorwe ne schame as I haue deseruyd.”

42. Staley, 114; BMK 63, 155/15–22: “Ser, beth of a good comfote, for it xal ben ryth wel at þe last. & I telle 3ow trewly my Lord Ihesu zeuyth me gret comfote in my sowle, & ellys xulde I fallyn in dispeyr. My blisful Lord Crist Ihesu wil not latyn me dyspeyrin for noon holy name þat þe good frer hath, for my Lord tellyth me þat he is wroth wyth hym, & he seyth to me it wer bettyr he wer neuyr born.”
43. A topic already essayed by, e.g., Nicholas Watson, “The Making of *The Book of Margery Kempe*,” in *Voices in Dialogue: Reading Women in the Middle Ages*, ed. Linda Olson and Kathryn Kerby-Fulton, 396, nos. 4–5 (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005); Windeatt, *Book of Margery Kempe*, 4.
44. Staley, 60; BMK 33, 82/30: “Desyryng to plesse God.”
45. Staley, 61; BMK 33, 83/27–29: “þan þis preste receyued hir ful mekely & reuerently as for hys modyr & for hys syster.”
46. Staley, 61; BMK 33, 83/32–33: “he wolde supportyn hir in hir sobbyng & in hir crying.”
47. Staley, 73; BMK 42, 100/25–27: “Sche, fallyng on hyr knes, receyued þe benefys of hys blyssyng, & so departyd a-sundyr whom charite ioyned bothyn in oon.”
48. Staley, 68; BMK 38, 93/8–14: “[She] met casualy wyth a good man . . . to whom sche had many good talys & many good exhortacyonys tyl God visited hym wyth terys of deuocyon & of compunccon to hys hey comfort & consolacyon. & þan he gaf hir mony.”
49. Staley, 79; BMK 45, 108/6–13: “& he was so drawyn be þe good wordys þat God put in hir to sey of contricyon . . . þat he was al meuyd as he had ben a newe man wyth terys of contricyon & compunccon, boþe days & nyghtys . . . þat sum-tyme when he went in þe feldys he wept so sor for hys synnes & hys trespas þat he fel down & myth not beryn it.”
50. BMK 38, 93.
51. Staley, 72; BMK 41, 98–99: “Þe good women, hauyng compassyon of hir sorwe & gretly meruelyng of hir wepyng & of hir crying, meche þe mor þei lound hir.”
52. Staley, 96; BMK 53, 130–131: “many good talys to hem þat wolde heryn hir, in so meche þat women wept sor & seyde wyth gret heuynes of her hertys, ‘Alas, woman, why xalt þu be brent?’”
53. Staley 112–113, BMK 62, 152–153: “[her scribe was reconciled to] hir wepyng & hir crying . . . [when] he red of a woman clepyd Maria de Oegines & of hir maner of leuyng, . . . & of þe plentyuows teerys þat sche wept, þe which made hir so febyl & so weyke.”
54. Staley, 32; BMK 18, 42–43: “a dubbyl man in sowle is euyr vnstabyl & vnstedfast in al hys weys. He þat is euyr-mor dowtyng is lyke to þe flood of þe see, þe which is mevyd & born a-bowte wyth þe wynd, & þat man is not lyche of receyuen þe zyftys of God. What creatur þat hath þes tokenys he muste stedfastlych beleuyn þat þe Holy Gost dwellyth in hys sowle. And mech mor, when God visyeth a creatur wyth terys of contrisyon, deuosyon, er compassyon, he may & owyth to leuyn þat þe Holy Gost is in hys sowle.”
55. Julian of Norwich, *Revelation* 28, in *The Writings of Julian of Norwich*, ed. Nicholas Watson and Jacqueline Jenkins, 213 (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006): “wille save us from gruging and despair in the feling of our paines.” Translation here taken from Julian of Norwich, *A Revelation of Love*, ed. Elisabeth Dutton (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2008), 56.
56. Emily Rebekah Huber, “‘For Y am sorwe, and sorwe ys Y’: Melancholy, Despair and Pathology in Middle English Literature” (PhD diss., University of Rochester, 2008).

57. William Langland, *The Vision of Piers Plowman [B-Text]*, ed. A. V. C. Schmidt (London: J. M. Dent, 1978), Passus II, lines 99–101, 20: “Til Sleuthe and sleep sliken hise sides / And thanne wanhope to awaken hym so with no wil to amende, / For he levethe be lost—this is his laste ende. (Till sloth and sleep · make sleek their sides; / And Despair to awaken them so · with no will to amend; / They believe themselves lost · this is their last end.)” trans. Anniina Jokinen, online at *Luminarium: Anthology of English Literature*, <http://www.courses.fas.harvard.edu/~chaucer/special/authors/langland/pp-pass2.html> (accessed May 2, 2011). Other instances of wanhope are in Passus V, where Greed nearly hangs himself when he “weex . . . in wanhope (increases in wanhope)” (52, line 279). True, Vigilance’s warning to Sloth to beware of Wanhope rouses Sloth to sit up and make the sign of the cross (58, lines 445 and 449). On the role of tears in *Piers Plowman*, see Katherine O’Sullivan’s chapter in this volume.
58. Geoffrey Chaucer, “The Parson’s Tale,” in *The Riverside Chaucer*, 3rd ed., ed. Larry D. Benson, 1.693 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1987), 311: “Now comth wanhope, that is despeir of the mercy of God.”
59. Staley, 5; BMK prol., 4/19–20: “he wolde copyn it owt & wrytyn it betyr wyth good wyll.”
60. Staley, 5; BMK prol., 4/24–28: “& so he voyded & deferryd þe wrytyng of þis boke wel on-to a iiij ȝer or ellys mor. . . . At þe last he seyde on-to hir þat he coud not redyn it, wher-for he wold not do it.”
61. Just as women letter writers took on a “textual self”: see James Daybell, *Women Letter-Writers in Tudor England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 266. Sarah Salih, “Margery’s Bodies: Piety, Work and Penance,” in *A Companion to The Book of Margery Kempe*, ed. John H. Arnold and Katherine J. Lewis, 175 (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004), argues that Margery “one by one discards the bodily practices so often associated with affective mysticism . . . Margery is taking leave of the somatic counterparts to her contemplation, as she transferred it all to text.” But dictation is not disembodied.
62. Stokes, “Margery Kempe,” 47: he may have been from the North Norfolk coastal village of Salhouse.
63. BMK, xxxviii. On the marginalia and the readership that they imply, see Lochrie, *Margery Kempe*, 120–122, and chap. 6.
64. BMK, xxxvi–xxxvii. For more on Methley, see Lochrie, *Margery Kempe*, 212–220. Norton entered Mount Grace in 1485 and had his first mystical vision there in 1488.
65. Staley, 4; BMK prol., 2/32–33: “owr Lord spak and dalyid to hyr sowle, techyng hyr.”
66. This *Treatyse* is printed in BMK, 353–357. See Allyson Foster, “A *Shorte Treatyse of Contemplacyon: The Book of Margery Kempe* in its Early Print Contexts,” in *A Companion to The Book of Margery Kempe*, ed. John H. Arnold and Katherine J. Lewis, 95–112 (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004).
67. The exception is Huber’s dissertation.
68. Charles Lloyd Cohen, *God’s Caress: The Psychology of Puritan Religious Experience* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 4.
69. Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, vol. 1, *Text*, ed. Thomas C. Faulkner, Nicholas K. Kiessling, and Rhonda L. Blair (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 247: “the minde most effectually workes upon the Body, producing by his passions and perturbations, miraculous alternations; as Melancholy, despaire, cruell diseases, and sometimes death it selfe.”
70. Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, ed. A. C. Hamilton (London: Longman, 1977), 1.9.28 (124). See Paola Baseotto, “*Disdeining life, desiring leaue to die*”: *Spenser and the Psychology of Despair* (Stuttgart: ibidem-Verlag, 2008).

71. Angus Gowland, "The Problem of Early Modern Melancholy," *Past & Present* 191 (2006): 104.
72. John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, ed. John T. McNeill and trans. Ford Lewis Battles (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1960), 1:369–370.
73. Paola Baseotto, "Theology and Interiority: Emotion as Evidence of the Working of Grace in Elizabethan and Stuart Conversion Narratives," in *A Cultural History of Emotions before Modernity* (London: Pickering and Chatto, forthcoming).
74. Owen C. Watkins, *The Puritan Experience: Studies in Spiritual Autobiography* (New York: Schocken Books, 1972), ix: "over two hundred narratives of this kind are known to have been written before 1725."
75. Watkins, *Puritan Experience*, 29.
76. Watkins, *Puritan Experience*, 41, says that Walker's church was at St. Martin Vintry, London. But the evidence seems to point in the direction of Westminster. This includes one testimonial in Vavasor Powell, *Spirituell experiences, of sundry beleivers. Held forth by them at severall solemne meetings, and Conferences to that end. With the recommendation of the sound, spiritual, and savoury worth of them, to the sober and spirituall Reader, By Vavasor Powel, Minister of the Gospel*, 2d ed. (London: Robert Ibbitson, [1653]), 227–228, and Walker's own sermons of 1649 and 1650, which were preached at Westminster locations. Joad Raymond, "Walker, Henry (fl. 1638–1660)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/40242> (accessed September 4, 2010), dates Walker's appointment to St. Martin Vintry to 1655, and thus two years after the publication of *Spirituell experiences*.
77. The book was "recommended" by Vavasor Powell, an Independent minister who wrote an introductory epistle for its second, augmented edition. It contains two testimonies by people designated as A. O., the first on pages 87–93, the second (analyzed here) on pages 134–139. These two testimonies are on the whole very different, and the best guess is that they are by separate individuals. I here use the original spellings.
78. Watkins, *Puritan Experience*, 41.
79. Powell, *Spirituell experiences*, 135.
80. *Ibid.*, 136.
81. *Ibid.*, 136–137.
82. *Ibid.*, 137–138.
83. *Ibid.*, 139.
84. *Ibid.*, i (paginated as 172, though in fact part of the prefatory epistle).
85. John Rogers, *Obel or Beth-shemesh. A Tabernacle for the Sun: or Irenicum Evangelicum. An Idea of Church-Discipline In the Theorick and Practick Parts: Which come forth first into the World as Bridegroom and Bride . . . by whom you will have the totum essentiale of a true Gospel-Church state according to Christs Rules and Order, left us when he Ascended. . . . Published for the benefit of all Gathered Churches, more especially in England, Ireland and Scotland* (London: R. I. and G. and H. Eversden, 1653), 355.
86. Copies are in the collections of the British Library, University Library of Wales College of Cardiff, Universität Göttingen, and the Franckesche Stiftungen Hauptbibliothek (Halle).
87. John Bunyan, *Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners; and The Pilgrim's Progress from This World to That Which Is to Come*, ed. Roger Sharrock (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), 8.
88. Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), appendix 1.

Bibliography

PRIMARY SOURCES

- Alcuin. *De virtutibus et vitiis (Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Latina)*. Edited by J. P. Migne. Paris: 1844–1891.
- Álvarez, Vicente. *Relación del camino y buen viaje que hizo el Príncipe de España Don Phelipe [...] 1548 [...]*. Brussels: n.p., 1551.
- Anchoritic Spirituality: Ancrene Wisse and Associated Works*. Translated by Nicholas Watson and Anne Savage. New York: Paulist Press, 1991.
- Andreas. Labyrinth Library hosted by Georgetown University. <http://www8.georgetown.edu/departments/medieval/labyrinth/library/oe/texts/a2.1.html> (accessed February 6, 2010).
- “Another Homily Concerning the Day of Judgment (Homily XV).” In *The Vercelli Book of Homilies: Translations from the Anglo-Saxon*. Edited by Lewis E. Nicholson. Translated by Jean A. Strebing, 97–103. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1991.
- Anthony of Padua. *Sermones dominicales et festivi*. Vol. 3. Edited by Beniamino Costa, Leonardo Frasson, and Ioanne Luisetto. Padua: Edizioni Messaggero, 1979.
- al-ʿAsqalani, Ibn Hajar. *Anbaʾ al-ghumr bi-abnaʾ al-ʿumr*. 9 vols. Hyderabad: Daʾirat al-Maʾarif al-ʿUthmaniyya, 1975.
- Augustine. *Confessions*. In *Medieval Sourcebook*. Edited and translated by Albert C. Outler. <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/aug-conv.html> (accessed August 30, 2010).
- de Ávila, Juan. *Aviso y reglas cristianas sobre aquel verso de David: Audi, Filia*. Barcelona: Flors, 1963.
- . *Obras: Audi Filia et Vide*. Vol. 2. Madrid: n.p., 1792.
- . *Obras completas del B. Mtro. Juan de Ávila: Edición Crítica*. Edited by Luis Sala Balust. Madrid: La Editorial Católica, 1953.
- Bar Ilan Responsa Project. *Version 17*. Ramat Gan: Bar Ilan University, 1972–2008.
- Bartsch, Karl, and Helmut de Boor. *Das Nibelungenlied: Mittelhochdeutsch / Neuhochdeutsch*. Translated and annotated by Siegfried Grosse. Stuttgart: Reclam, 1997.
- Bernard of Clairvaux. *Selected Works*. Edited by Gillian Rosemary Evans. Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 1987.
- Boccali, P. Giovanni, ed. *Santa Chiara d'Assisi sotto processo. Lettura storico-teologica degli Atti di canonizzazione*. Assisi: Porziuncola, 2003.
- de Boer, C., ed. *Philomena, conte raconté d'après Ovide*. Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1974.

- Bollandus, Johannes, and Godefridus Henschenius. *Acta sanctorum quotquot toto orbe coluntur: vel a catholicis scriptoribus celebrantur, editio novissima*. Edited by Joanne Carnandet. Paris: Apud Victorem Palme, 1863.
- Bonaventure of Bagnoregio. "The Minor Legend of St. Francis." In *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents*, edited by Regis J. Armstrong, J. Wayne Hellmann, and William J. Short, 2:715. New York: New York City Press, 1999.
- Boyle, Leonard E., and Jean-Claude Schmitt, eds. *Modi Orandi Sancti Dominici*. Zurich: Belser Verlag, 1995.
- Bradley, Sidney A. J., ed. and trans. *Anglo-Saxon Poetry*. London: Everyman, J. M. Dent, 1995.
- Braude, William, and Israel Kapstein, trans. *Tanna debe Eliyyahu*. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1981.
- Brody, Heinrich. *Mivhar haShirah haLvrit* [Selection of Hebrew Poetry]. Leipzig: Insel-Verlag, 1922.
- Bunyan, John. *Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners*; and *The Pilgrim's Progress from This World to That Which Is To Come*. Edited by Roger Sharrock. London: Oxford University Press, 1966.
- Burton, Robert. *The Anatomy of Melancholy*. Vol. 1, *Text*. Edited by Thomas C. Faulkner, Nicholas K. Kiessling, and Rhonda L. Blair. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989.
- Caesarius of Heisterbach. *The Dialogue on Miracles*. Translated by H. Von E Scott and C. C. Swinton Bland. 2 vols. London: G. Routledge and Sons, 1929.
- . *Dialogus Miraculorum. Dialog Über die Wunder*. Translated by Nikolaus Nösges and Horst Schneider. 5 vols. Turnhout: Brepols, 2009.
- Calvin, John. *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Edited by John T. McNeill. Translated by Ford Lewis Battles. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1960.
- Cambell, Jacques, ed. *Enquête pour le procès de canonisation de Dauphine de Puimichel, comtesse d'Ariano- (+ 26–XI-1360): Apt et Avignon, 14 mai—30 octobre 1363*. Turin: Bottega d'Erasmus, 1978.
- , trans. *Les vies occitanes de Saint Auzias et de Sainte Dauphine*. Rome: Pontificium Athenaeum Antonianum, 1963.
- Campbell, Alistar, ed. and trans. *Encomium Emmae Reginae*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- de Cantimpré, Thomas. *The Life of Lutgard of Aywières*. Translated by Margot H. King. Toronto: Peregrina Publishing Co., 1991.
- . "Vita Lutgardis." In *Acta Sanctorum June 4*. Paris: Société des Bollandistes, 1867.
- Carmi, T., ed. and trans. *The Penguin Book of Hebrew Verse*. New York: Penguin Books, 2006.
- Catherine of Siena. *Libro della divina dottrina volgarmente detto dialogo della divina provvidenza*. Edited by Matilde Fiorilli. Bari: Laterza, 1928.
- Celano, Thomas. *Francis of Assisi: First and Second Life of St. Francis with Selections from Treatise on the Miracles of Blessed Francis*. Edited and translated by Placid Hermann. 1963. Reprint, Quincy, IL: Franciscan Herald Press, 1988.
- Chaucer, Geoffrey. *The Canterbury Tales*. In *The Riverside Chaucer*. 3rd ed. Edited by Larry D. Benson, 3–328. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1987.
- . "The Parson's Tale." In *The Riverside Chaucer*, 3rd ed. Edited by Larry D. Benson, 287–327. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1987.
- Chrétien de Troyes. *Philomena*. Translated by Olivier Collet. Paris: Librairie générale, 1994.
- Christ III. Labyrinth Library hosted by Georgetown University. <http://www8.georgetown.edu/departments/medieval/labyrinth/library/oe/texts/a3.1.html> (accessed February 6, 2010).
- Cicero. *La rethorica de M. Tullio Ciceron*. Edited by Rosalba Mascagna. Translated by Alfonso de Cartagena. Naples: Liguori, 1969.

- Classen, Albrecht, ed. and trans. *Mai und Beafloer*. Vol. 6, *Beihefte zur Mediaevistik*. Commentary and introduction by Albrecht Classen. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2006.
- Collet, Olivier, and Sylviane Messerli, eds. *Vies médiévales de Marie-Madeleine*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2009.
- Cormier, Raymond J., ed. *Three Ovidian Tales of Love* ("Piramus et Tisbé," "Narcissus et Dané," and "Philomena et Procné"). New York: Garland, 1986.
- Conversini, Giovanni da Ravenna. *La processione dei Bianchi nella città di Padova* (1399). Padua: Centro Studi Antoniani, 1978.
- Cynewulf. *Juliana*. Labyrinth Library hosted by Georgetown University. <http://www8.georgetown.edu/departments/medieval/labyrinth/library/oe/texts/a3.5.html> (accessed February 6, 2010).
- Damian, Peter. *Liber Gomorrhianus*. In *Patrologiae cursus completus*. Vol. 145, *Series Latina*, edited by Jacques-Paul Migne, 159–190. 221 vols. Paris: Garnier, 1857–1866.
- Descent into Hell*. Labyrinth Library hosted by Georgetown University. <http://www8.georgetown.edu/departments/medieval/labyrinth/library/oe/texts/a3.26.html> (accessed February 6, 2010).
- Davies, R. T., ed. *Medieval English Lyrics: A Critical Anthology*. London: Faber and Faber, 1963.
- Dinzelbacher, Peter, and Renate Vogeler, eds. *Leben und Offenbarungen der Wiener Begine Agnes Blannbekin (d. 1315)*. Göppingen: Kümmerle Verlag, 1994.
- Dominici, Luca. "Cronache di Ser Luca Dominici." In *Cronaca della venuta dei Bianchi e della moria, 1399–1400*, vol. 1, edited by G. C. Gigliotti. Pistoia: Alberto Pacinotti, 1933.
- de la Encina, Juan. *Trivagia in Desde Sevilla a Jerusalén. Con versos de Juan de la Encina y prosa del primer marqués de Tarifa*. Edited by Joaquín González Moreno. Seville: Caja de Ahorros de Sevilla, 1974.
- Enríquez de Ribera, Fadrique. *Viaje de Jerusalem [1521]*. In *Desde Sevilla a Jerusalén. Con versos de Juan de la Encina y prosa del primer marqués de Tarifa*, edited by Joaquín González Moreno. Seville: Caja de Ahorros de Sevilla, 1974.
- Faillon, M. *Monuments inédits sur l'apostolat de Sainte Marie-Madeleine en Provence, et sur les autres apotres de cette contrée Saint Lazare, Saint Maximin, Sainte Marthe, les saintes Maries Jacobé et Salomé, etc. etc.* Vol. 2. Paris: Ateliers Catholiques, 1865.
- Fleck, Konrad. *Flore und Blanscheffur*. Vol. 12, *Bibliothek der gesamten deutschen National-Literatur von der ältesten bis auf die neuere Zeit*. Edited by Emil Sommer. Quedlinburg and Leipzig: Druck und Verlag von Gottfried Basse, 1846.
- Francisco de Hollanda. *Diálogos em Roma (1538): Conversations on Art with Michelangelo Buonarroti*. Edited by Grazia Dolores Folliero-Metz. Preface by Wolfgang Drost. Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1998.
- . *Vier Gespräche über die Malerei geführt zu Rom 1538*. Original text with translation, introduction, addenda, and explanations by Joaquim de Vasconcellos. Vienna: Carl Graeser, 1899.
- Freedman, H., and Maurice Simon, trans. *Midrash Rabbah*. London: Soncino Press, 1983.
- Garay, Kathleen, and Madeleine Jeay, eds. and trans. *The Life of Saint Douceline, a Beguine of Provence*. Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 2001.
- al-Ghazali, Abu Hamid. *Ihya 'ulum al-din (The Revivification of the Sciences)*. Edited by [?] 5 vols. Damascus: Dar al-Fikr, 1986.
- Gibbs, Marion E., and Sidney M. Johnson, trans. *Kudrun*. *The Garland Library of Medieval Literature, Series B* 79. New York and London: Garland, 1992.
- Gikatilla, Joseph. *Shaarei Ora [Gates of Light]*. Jerusalem: Mosad Bialik, 1980.

- Glaber, Rodulphus. *Historiarum libri quinque* [The Five Books of the Histories]. Edited and translated by John France. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989.
- Gottfried von Strassburg. *Tristan*. After the text by Friedrich Ranke, reissued, new translation. Commentary and annotation by Rüdiger Krohn. 3 vols. Stuttgart: Reclam, 1980.
- Gout, Raoul, trans. *La vie de Sainte Douceline texte provençal du XIVe siècle*. Paris: Bloud et Gay, 1927.
- Gregory the Great. *Registrum Epistolarum*. Translation from New Advent. <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/360207026.htm> (accessed February 9, 2010).
- Haberman, Abraham M. *Piyyutei Rabbi Ephraim ben Yaakov miBona* [The Liturgical Poems of Rabbi Ephraim ben Yaakov of Bona]. Tel Aviv: Schocken, 1968.
- al-Hamadhani, Badi' al-Zaman. *The Maqamat of Badi' al-Zaman al-Hamadhani*. Translated by W. J. Prendergast. London: Curzon, 1973.
- al-Hariri, Qasim b. 'Ali. *The Assemblies of al-Hariri*. Vol. 1 Translated by Thomas Chenery. London: Williams and Northgate, 1867.
- . *Maqamat*. Beirut: Dar Sadir, 1980.
- Hartmann von Aue. *The Complete Works of Hartmann von Aue*. Translated, with commentary by Frank Tobin, Kim Vivian, and Richard H. Lawson. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001.
- . *Erec*. Edited by Albert Leitzmann, continued by Ludwig Wolff. 7th ed. by Kurt Gärtner. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2006.
- Higger, Michael. *Halakhot va'aggadot* [Law and Lore]. Jerusalem: Makor, 1970.
- Hilton, Walter. "From the Ladder of Perfection." In *English Spirituality in the Age of Wyclif*, edited by David Lyle Jeffrey, 327–331. Vancouver: Regent College Publishing, 1988.
- Hugh of St. Victor. "De institutione novitiorum." In *Patrologia cursus completus*, vol. 176, *Series Latina*, edited by J. P. Migne, cols. 925–952. 221 vols. Paris: Garnier, 1857–1866.
- al-Hurayfish, Shaykh Shu'ayb. *al-Rawd al-fa'iq fi l-mawa'iz wa-l-raqa'iq*. Edited by Khalil al-Mansur. Dar al-Bayda'(?): Dar al-Fikr, n.d.
- Ibn al-Abbar. *al-Takmila li-Kitab al-Sila*. Edited by 'Abd al-Sallam al-Harras. 4 vols. Dar al-Bayda': Dar al-Fikr, 1996.
- Ibn 'Abd al-Rabbihi. *Kitab al-'Iqd al-farid*. Edited by Ahmed Amin et al. 7 vols. Cairo: Maktabat Lajnat al-Ta'lif wa-l-Tarjama wa-l-Jama'at wa-l-Nashr, 1948–1953.
- Ibn Abi l-Dunya. *Kitab al-Riqqa wa-l-buka'*. Beirut: Dar Ibn Hazm, 1998.
- . *Kitab al-wara'*. Edited by Bassam 'Abd al-Wahhab al-Yabi. Limasol and Beirut: al-Jaffan and al-Jabi; Dar Ibn Hazm, 2002.
- . *Mawsu'at rasa'il*. Edited by Mustafa 'Abd al-Qadir 'Ata' et al. 5 vols. Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Kutub al-Thaqafiyya, 1993.
- Ibn Abi Zar', abul-Hasan 'Ali ibn 'Abd Allah. *Al-Anis al-mutrib bi-rawd al-qirtas fi akhbar muluk al-Maghrib wa-ta'rikh madinat Fas*. Beirut: Dar al-Mansur li-l-Tiba'a wa-l-warraqa, 1972.
- . *Rawd al-qirtas*. Translated by Ambosio Huici Miranda. 2 vols. Valencia: J. Nacher, 1964.
- Ibn Arabi. *Los sufis de Andalucía*. Translated by David García Valverde. Malaga: Editorial Sirio, 1990.
- Ibn al-'Attar. *Adab al-khatib*. Edited by M. b. Hussayn al-Sulaymani. Beirut: Dar al-Gharb al-Islami, 1996.
- Ibn Ezra, Moses. "In the Night." Translated by Emma Lazarus. www.medievalhewbrewpoetry.org/mosesibnezranewselection.html (accessed August 6, 2010).
- Ibn al-Hajj. *Madkhal al-shar' al-sharif*. 4 vols. 1960. Reprint, Cairo: Dar al-Fikr, 1981.
- Ibn Ishaq, Muhammad. *The Life of Muhammad: A Translation of Ishaq's Sirat Rasul Allah*. Translated by A. Guillaume. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1998.

- Ibn al-Jawzi, Abu l-Faraj. *Adab al-Hasan al-Basri wa-zuhdu-hu wa-mawa'izu-hu*. Edited by S. al-Hars. Damascus: Dar al-Siddiq, 2005.
- . *Kitab al-Qussas w'al-mudhakkirin*. Edited and translated by Merlin L. Swartz. Beirut: Dar al-Machreq, 1971.
- Ibn Jubayr. *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*. Edited from a MS. in the University Library of Leyden. 2nd ed. Edited by William Wright and Michael Jan de Goeje. Leiden: Brill, 1907.
- Ibn Kathir, Isma'il ibn 'Umar. *Qisas al-anbiya'*. 7 vols. Beirut: Dar Nablus, 2007.
- Idel, Moshe. *Kabbalah: New Perspectives*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980.
- Imam Malik ibn Anas. *al-Muwatta' of Imam Malik*. Translated by Aisha Bewley. <http://www.usc.edu/schools/college/crcc/engagement/resources/texts/muslim/hadith/muwatta/016.mmt.html> (accessed October 20, 2010).
- al-Isfahani, Abu Nu'aym. *Hilyat al-awliya wa-tabaqat al-asfiya'*. Edited by Abu Hajar Zaghul. 11 vols. Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1986.
- Jack, George, ed. *Beowulf*. In *Beowulf: A Student Edition*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994.
- Jacques de Vitry. *The Life of Marie d'Oignies*. 3rd ed. Edited and translated by Margot H. King. Toronto: Peregrina Publishing Co., 1993.
- . "Vita B. Mariae Oignaciensis." In *Acta Sanctorum Junius* V, 547–572. Paris: Societé des Bollandistes, 1867.
- al-Jahiz. *Kitab al-Bayan wa-l-tabyin*. Edited by 'Abd al-Salam Harun. 4 vols. Cairo: Maktabat Lajnat al-Ta'lif wa-l-Tarjama wa-l-Jama'at wa-l-Nashr, 1948–1960.
- Jerome. "Letter to Eustochium." In *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*. Vol. 6, *St. Jerome: Letter and Select Writings*, edited by Philip Schaff and Henry Wace, 22–41. New York: The Christian Literature Company, 1893.
- Johannes von Tepl. *Der Ackermann*. Vol. 1, *Deutsche Klassiker des Mittelalters, Neue Folge*. 2nd ed. Edited by Willy Krogmann. Wiesbaden: F. A. Brockhaus, 1964.
- Julian of Norwich. *A Revelation of Love*. Edited by Elisabeth Dutton. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2008.
- . *Revelations*. In *The Writings of Julian of Norwich*. Edited by Nicholas Watson and Jacqueline Jenkins. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006.
- Kemble, John M., ed. *The Dialogue of Solomon and Saturnus*. London: The Ælfric Society, 1848.
- Kempe, Margery. *The Book of Margery Kempe*. Edited by Sanford Brown Meech and Hope Emily Allen. Early English Text Society. London: Oxford University Press, 1940.
- . *The Book of Margery Kempe*. Edited and translated by Lynn Staley. New York: W. W. Norton, 2001.
- . *The Book of Margery Kempe*. Edited by Barry A. Windeatt. Harlow: Longman, 2000.
- Langland, William. *Piers Plowman: The B-Version, Will's Vision of Piers Plowman, Do-Well, Do-Better, and Do-Best*. Edited by George Kane and E. Talbot Donaldson. London: Athlone Press, 1975.
- . *Piers Plowman: The C-Text*. 2nd ed. Edited by Derek Pearsall. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1994.
- . *The Vision of Piers Plowman [B-Text]*. Edited by A. V. C. Schmidt. London: J. M. Dent, 1978.
- . *The Vision of Piers Plowman [B-Text]*. Translated at *Luminarium: Anthology of English Literature*, by Anniina Jokinen. <http://www.courses.fas.harvard.edu/~chaucer/special/authors/langland/pp-pass2.html>.

- . *The Vision of Piers Plowman: A Critical Edition of B-Text Based on Trinity College Cambridge MS B.15.17*. 2nd ed. Edited by A. V. C. Schmidt. London: J. M. Dent, 1995.
- Luizza, Roy M., ed. and trans. *Beowulf: A New Verse Translation*. Peterborough: Broadview Press, 2000.
- Mannyn, Robert. *Handlyng Synne*. Edited by Idelle Sullens. Binghamton: State University of New York Press, 1983.
- al-Maqqari, Abu l-'Abbas Ahmad. *Nafh al-tib min ghusn al-Andalus al-ratib wa-dhikr waziri-ha Lisan al-Din Ibn al-Khatib*. Edited by Ihsan 'Abbas. 8 vols. Beirut: Dar al-Sadr, 1968.
- Matt, Daniel, trans. *The Zohar*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 2007.
- McConnell, Winder, trans. *Kudrun. Medieval Texts and Translations*. Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1992.
- McNeill, John T., and Helena M. Gamer, eds. and trans. *Medieval Handbooks of Penance: A Translation of the Principal. Libri Poenitentiales*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1990.
- Memoria muy devota y recverdo muy provechoso, del camino trabajoso que hizo Christo Redemptor Nuestro, para encaminarnos a la Gloria, y de los passos que dio con la pesada Cruz sobre sus delicados ombros, desde la Casa de Pilatos, hasta el Monte Caluario, donde fue crucificado y muerto, para darnos vida eterna. Cuyo trecho es el que comiença desde las Casas de los Excelentissimos Señores Duques de Alcalá, hasta la Cruz del Campo desta Ciudad de Seuilla*. Seville: Institución Colombina, Biblioteca Capitular y Colombina, 1653.
- Migne, Jacques-Paul, ed. *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series graeca*. 161 vols. Paris: Migne, 1844–.
- Moreni, Domenico. "Leggenda della beata Umiliana de' Cerchi." In *Prosatori Minori del Trecento*, edited by Guiseppe De Luca, 723–768. Milan: R. Ricciardi, 1954.
- Morris, Richard, ed. *The Book of Penance*. In *Cursor Mundi, 1470–1586*. EETS O.S. 66, 68. London: Trübner and Co., 1874–1893.
- . *Old English Homilies and Homiletic Treatises of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*. Reprint. New York: Greenwood Press, 1969.
- al-Mubarrad, 'Abbas Muhammad. *Kitab al-Kamil fi l-lugha wa-l-adab*. Edited by Tagarid Baydun. 2 vols. Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1987.
- Muir, Bernard J., ed. *The Exeter Anthology of Old English Poetry: An Edition of Exeter Dean and Chapter MS 3501*. 2nd ed. Exeter: Exeter University Press, 2000.
- Myrc, John. *Instructions for Parish Priests*. Edited by Edward Peacock. London: Trübner and Co., 1868.
- Neubauer, Adolf, Moritz Stern, and Seligmann Baer. *Hebräische Berichte über die Judenverfolgungen während der Kreuzzüge*. Berlin: Simion, 1892.
- Nicholson, Lewis E., ed. *The Vercelli Book of Homilies: Translations from the Anglo-Saxon*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1991.
- Osuna, Francisco de. *Tercer abecedario espiritual*. Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1972.
- Ovid. *Metamorphoses*. Translated by Frank Justus Miller. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984.
- Petroff, Elizabeth Avilda, ed. *Medieval Women's Visionary Literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986.
- The Phoenix*. Labyrinth Library hosted by Georgetown University. <http://www8.georgetown.edu/departments/medieval/labyrinth/library/oe/texts/a3.4.html> (accessed February 9, 2010).
- Powell, Vavasor. *Spirituell experiences, of sundry beleevers. Held forth by them at severall solemne meetings, and Conferences to that end. With the recommendation*

- of the sound, spiritual, and savoury worth of them, to the sober and spirituall Reader, By Vavasor Powel, Minister of the Gospel. 2nd ed. London: Robert Ibbitson, 1653.
- Pseudo-Albertus Magnus. *Women's Secrets: A Translation of Pseudo-Albertus Magnus's De Secretis Mulierum with Commentaries*. Translated and edited by Helen Rodnite Lemay. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992.
- al-Qurtubi, Muhammad Ibn Waddah. *Kitab al-bida' (Tratado contra las innovaciones)*. Edited and translated by Maribel Fierro. Madrid: CSIC, 1998.
- Reinitzer, Heimo, ed. *Mauritius von Craün*. Vol. 113 of *Altdeutsche Textbibliothek*. Tübingen, Germany: Niemeyer, 2000.
- Rogers, John. *Ohel or Beth-shemesh. A Tabernacle for the Sun: or Irenicum Evangelicum. An Idea of Church-Discipline In the Theorick and Practick Parts: Which come forth first into the World as Bridegroom and Bride . . . by whom you will have the totum essentiale of a true Gospel-Church state according to Christs Rules and Order, left us when he Ascended. . . . Published for the benefit of all Gathered Churches, more especially in England, Ireland and Scotland*. London: R. I. and G. and H. Eversden, 1653.
- Ruiz, Juan. *The Book of Good Love*. Translated by Rigo Mignani and Mario A. Di Cesare. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1972.
- Sahih al-Bukhari*. "Religious Texts." University of Southern California, Center for Muslim-Jewish Engagement. <http://www.usc.edu/schools/college/crcc/engagement/resources/texts/muslim/hadith/bukhari/052.sbt.html> (accessed November 2, 2010).
- al-Sakhawi, Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Rahman. *al-Daw' al-lami' li-abli l-qarn al-tasi'*. 12 vols. Beirut: Dar Maktaba al-Hayat, 1966.
- al-Saraqusti, Muhammad b. Yusuf. *al-Maqamat al-luzumiyya*. Translated by James T. Monroe. Leiden: Brill, 2001.
- Scragg, Donald G., ed. *The Vercelli Homilies and Related Texts*. EETS O.S. 300. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Shakespeare, William. *Hamlet*. Edited by Susanne L. Wofford. Boston: Bedford Books, 1994.
- Spenser, Edmund. *The Faerie Queene*. Edited by A. C. Hamilton. London: Longman, 1977.
- Spiegel, Shalom. *The Last Trial*. Translated by Judah Goldin. New York: Behrman House, 1979.
- Stackmann, Karl, ed. *Kudrun*. Vol. 115, *Altdeutsche Textbibliothek*. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2000.
- Stanislavsky, Constantin. *An Actor Prepares*. Translated by E. R. Hapgood. New York: Theatre Arts Books, 1961.
- . *Creating a Role*. Translated by E.R. Hapgood. New York: Taylor and Francis, 1989.
- Stenglass, F. trans. *The Assemblies of al-Hariri*. Vol. 2. London: S. Low, Marston, 1898.
- Sunan of Abu Dawud*. "Religious Texts." University of Southern California, Center for Muslim-Jewish Engagement. <http://www.edu/schools/college/crcc/engagement/resources/texts/muslim/abudawud/020.sat.html> (accessed October 20, 2010)
- Symeon the New Theologian. *The Discourses*. Translated by C. J. de Catanzaro. London: SPCK, 1980.
- Talbot, Alice-Mary, ed. *The Correspondence of Athanasius I. Patriarch of Constantinople: Letters to the Emperor Andronicus II, Members of the Imperial Family, and Officials*. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1975.

- . *Holy Women of Byzantium: Ten Saints' Lives in English*. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1996.
- Talmud Bauli* [Babylonian Talmud]. Schottenstein Edition. New York: Mesorah Publications, 2000–2007.
- al-Tarafī, Ibn Mutarrif. *The Stories of the Prophets by Ibn Mutarrif al-Tarafī*. Edited by Roberto Tottoli. Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2003.
- Tertullian. "On Repentance." In *Ante-Nicene Fathers: The Writings of the Fathers Down to A.D. 325*, vol. 3. Edited by Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson. Translated by Sidney Thelwall, 657–668. Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1887.
- al-Tha'alibi, Abu Ishaq Ahmad b. Muhammad. *Ara'is al-majalis fi qisas al-anbiya' or "Lives of the Prophets" as Recounted by Abu Ishaq Ahmad b. Muhammad Ibn Ibrahim al-Tha'labi*. Translated by William M. Brinner. Leiden: Brill, 2002.
- Thomas of Aquinas. *Summa Theologica, Third Part*. Translated by Fathers of the English Dominican Province. London: R. and T. Washbourne, 1917.
- Thorpe, Benjamin, ed. *The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church: The First Part Containing the Sermones Catholici of Homilies of Ælfric, in the Original Anglo-Saxon, with an English Version*. 2 vols. London: n.p., 1844–1846.
- Treharne, Elaine M., ed. *Old and Middle English c.890–c.1400: An Anthology*. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley, 2004.
- Tugwell, Simon, ed. *Early Dominicans: Selected Writings*. Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 1982.
- al-Turtushi, Abu Bakr. *Kitab al-hawadith wa-l-bida' (El Libro de las novedades y las innovaciones*. Edited and translated by Maribel Fierro. Madrid: CSIC, 1993.
- al-Tusi, Abu l-Nasr 'Abd Allah b. 'Ali al-Sarraj. *Kitab al-Luma' fi l-tasawwuf*. Edited and translated by R. A. Nicholson. Leiden: Brill, 1914.
- al-Tustari, Sahl b. 'Abd Allah. *Lata'if qisas al-anbiya', 'alayhim al-salam*. Edited by Kamal 'Allam. Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 2004.
- Viollet-le-Duc, Eugène. *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XI^e au XVI^e siècle*. 1856.
- "Vita Oswaldi archiepiscopi eboracensis, auctore anonymo." In *The Historians of the Church of York and Its Archbishops*, edited by James Raine, 399–475. N.p.: Longman and Co., 1879–1894.
- "Vita Sancti Dunstani, auctore B." In *Memorials of St. Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury*, edited by William Stubbs, 3–52. London: Longman, 1874.
- Vito da Cortona. "Vita beatae Humilianae de Cerchis." In *Acta Sanctorum Maius IV*, 386–401. Antwerp: Societé des Bollandistes, 1866.
- The Wanderer*. Labyrinth Library hosted by Georgetown University. <http://www8.georgetown.edu/departments/medieval/labyrinth/library/oe/texts/a3.6.html> (accessed February 6, 2010).
- Watkiss, Leslie, and Marjorie Chibnall, eds. and trans. *The Waltham Chronicle: An Account of the Discovery of Our Holy Cross at Montacute and Its Conveyance to Waltham*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994.
- Wiethaus, Ulrike, ed. and trans. *Agnes Blannbekin, Viennese Beguine: Life and Revelations*. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2002.

SECONDARY SOURCES

- Abdessalem, Mohamed. *Le thème de la mort dans la poésie arabe des origins à la fin du III^e/IX^e siècle*. Tunis: Université de Tunis, 1977.
- Abu-Lughod, Lila. *Veiled Sentiments: Honor and Poetry in a Bedouin Society*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986.

- Adams, Robert. "Mede and Mercede: The Evolution of the Economics of Grace in *Piers Plowman* B and C Versions." In *Medieval English Studies Presented to George Kane*, edited by Edward Donald Kennedy, Ronald Waldron, and Joseph S. Wittig, 217–232. Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1988.
- Adams, Tracy. "The Mad Lovers of the Ovidian Lais." In *Violent Passions: Managing Love in the Old French Verse Romance*, 37–74. Houndmills, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.
- Adnès, Pierre. "Larmes." In *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, vol. 9, edited by Marcel Viller, 287–303. Paris: G. Beauchesne, 1976.
- Aghaie, Kamran. S., ed. *The Women of Karbala: Ritual Performance and Symbolic Discourses in Modern Shii Islam*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005.
- de Agromayor, Luis. *España en fiestas*. Madrid: Aguilar, 1987.
- Airlie, Stuart. "The History of Emotions and Emotional History." *Early Medieval Europe* 10, no. 2 (2001): 235–241.
- Albers, Bruno. "Wann sind die Beda-Egbert'schen Bussbücher verfasst worden, und wer ist ihr Verfasser?" *Archiv für katholisches Kirchenrecht* 81 (1901): 393–420.
- Alexander, Jeffrey C. "Cultural Pragmatics: Social Performance between Ritual and Strategy." *Sociological Theory* (2004): 527–573.
- Alexiou, Margaret. *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1974.
- Alford, John. "The Figure of Repentance in *Piers Plowman*." In '*Suche Werkis to Werche*': *Essays on Piers Plowman in Honor of David C. Fowler*, edited by Miceal F. Vaughan, 3–28. East Lansing, MI: Colleagues Press, 1993.
- Althoff, Gerd. "Empörung, Tränen, Zerknirschung: Emotionen in der öffentlichen Kommunikation des Mittelalters." *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 30 (1996): 60–79. Reprinted in *Spielregeln der Politik im Mittelalter: Kommunikation in Frieden und Fehde*, 258–281. Darmstadt: Primus Verlag, 1997.
- . "Tränen und Freude: Was interessiert Mittelalter-Historiker an Emotionen?" *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 40 (2006): 1–11.
- Altpeter-Jones, Katharina. "Trafficking in Goods and Women: Love and Economics in Konrad Fleck's 'Flöre und Blanscheflur.'" PhD diss., Duke University, 2004.
- Altschuller, Anatoly. "Actors and Acting: 1820–1850." In *is A History of Russian Theatre*. Collection edited by Robert Leach and Victor Borovsky, 104–123. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Amsler, Mark. "Rape and Silence: Ovid's Mythography and Medieval Readers." In *Representing Rape*, edited by Elizabeth Ann Robertson and Christine M. Rose, 61–96. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001.
- Antonetti, Pierre. *La Vita Quotidiana ai Tempi di Dante*. Translated by Giuseppe Cafiero. Milan: BUR Biblioteca Univ. Rizzoli, 1998.
- Apostolos-Cappadona, Diane. "'Pray with Tears and Your Request Will Find a Hearing': On the Iconology of the Magdalene's Tears." In *Holy Tears: Weeping in the Religious Imagination*, edited by Kimberley Christine Patton and John Stratton Hawley, 201–228. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005.
- Arden, Heather M. "Grief, Widowhood and Women's Sexuality in Medieval French Literature." In *Upon My Husband's Death: Widows in the Literature and Histories of Medieval Europe*, edited by Louise Mirrer, 305–320. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992.
- Arnold, John H. "Margery's Trials: Heresy, Lollardy and Dissent." In *A Companion to The Book of Margery Kempe*, edited by John H. Arnold and Katherine J. Lewis, 75–93. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004.
- Arnold, John H., and Katherine J. Lewis, eds. *A Companion to The Book of Margery Kempe*. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004.
- Artaud, Antonin. *The Theatre and Its Double*. Translated by Mary Caroline Richards. New York: Grove Press, 1958.

- Auchterlonie, Paul. *Arabic Biographical Dictionaries: A Summary Guide and Bibliography*. Durham, UK: Middle East Libraries Committee, 1987.
- Azzam, Wagih. "Le Printemps de la littérature: la 'translation' dans 'Philomena' de Crestiens li Gois." *Litterature* 74 (1989): 47–62.
- Bakirtzis, Charalambos. *Byzantina Tsoukalolagena*. Athens: n.p., 1989.
- Bakken, William. *The Date of Cnut's Pilgrimage to Rome*. <http://www.mnsu.edu/emuseum/prehistory/vikings.html> (accessed August 23, 2004).
- Baldini, A. "Giotto." In *L'eredità di Giotto: Arte a Firenze 1340–1375*, edited by Angelo Tartuferi, 172. Florence: Giunti, 2008.
- Baldwin, Anna. *The Theme of Government in Piers Plowman*. Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1981.
- Balukhaty, S. D., ed. *The Seagull Produced by Stanislavsky*. Translated by David Magarshack. New York: Theatre Arts, 1952.
- Barasch, Moshe. "The Crying Face." *Artibus et Historiae* 8 (1987): 21–36.
- . *Gestures of Despair in Medieval and Early Renaissance Art*. New York: New York University Press, 1976.
- . *Giotto and the Language of Gesture*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- Barral i Altet, Xavier. *Contre l'art roman? Essai sur un passé réinventé*. Paris: Librairie Arthème Fayard, 2006.
- Barrow, Julia. "Demonstrative Behavior and Political Communication in Later Anglo-Saxon England." *Anglo-Saxon England* 36 (2008): 127–150.
- Bars, Henry. "Á la source des larmes." *Vie Spirituelle* 57 (1938): 140–150.
- Bar-Sela, Ariel, et al. "Moses Maimonides' Two Treatises on the Regimen of Health: Fī Tadbīr al-Sihhah and Maqālah fī Bayān Ba'd al-A'rād wa-al-Jawāb 'anhā." *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 54, no. 4 (1964): 3–50.
- Baseotto, Paola. "Disdaining life, desiring leave to die": *Spenser and the Psychology of Despair*. Stuttgart: ibidem-Verlag, 2008.
- . "Theology and Interiority: Emotion as Evidence of the Working of Grace in Elizabethan and Stuart Conversion Narratives." In *A Cultural History of Emotions before Modernity*, edited by Jonas Liliequist. London: Pickering and Chatto, forthcoming.
- Basser, Herbert. "Weeping in Jewish Sources." In *Holy Tears: Weeping in the Religious Imagination*, edited by Kimberley Christine Patton and John Stratton Hawley, 198. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005.
- Bassi, Karen. *Acting Like Men: Gender, Drama, and Nostalgia in Ancient Greece*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998.
- Baxandall, Michael. *Giotto and the Orators: Humanist Observers of Painting in Italy and the Discovery of Pictorial Composition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971.
- . *Limewood Sculptors of Renaissance Germany*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985.
- Bearman, Peri J., et al., eds. *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*. 2nd ed. Leiden: Brill, 1960–2005.
- Beckwith, Sarah. *Christ's Body: Identity, Culture and Society in Late Medieval Writings*. London: Routledge, 1993.
- . "A Very Material Mysticism: The Medieval Mysticism of Margery Kempe." In *Medieval Literature: Criticism, Ideology, and History*, edited by David Aers, 34–57. Brighton, Sussex: Harvester Press, 1986.
- Beeston, Alfred Felix Landon. "The Genesis of the *Maqama* Genre." *Journal of Arabic Literature* 2 (1972): 1–12.
- Behmenburg, Lena. *Metamorphosen eines Mythos in der deutschen und französischen Literatur des Mittelalters*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2009.

- Belting, Hans. *The Image and Its Public in the Middle Ages: Form and Function of Early Paintings of the Passion*. New Rochelle, NY: A. D. Caratzas, 1990.
- Bencini, Raffaello, and Alberto Busignani. *Le chiese di Firenze: Quartiere di Sta Croce*. Florence: Sansoni, 1982.
- Benkov, Edith Joyce. "Hyginus' Contribution to Chrétien's Philomène." *Romance Philology* 36 (1983): 403–406.
- . "Philomena: Chrétien de Troyes' Reinterpretation of the Ovidian Myth." *Classical and Modern Literature: A Quarterly* 3, no. 4 (1983): 201–209.
- Benson, C. David. "The Function of Lady Meed in *Piers Plowman*." *English Studies* 61 (1980): 193–205.
- . *Public Piers Plowman: Modern Scholarship and Late Medieval English Culture*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004.
- Benson, Pamela. "Debate about Women in Trecento Florence." In *Gender in Debate from the Early Middle Ages to the Renaissance*, edited by Thelma S. Fenster and Clare A. Lees, 165–187. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002.
- Benvenuti Papi, Anna. *"In castro poenitentiae": Santità e Società femminile nell'Italia medievale*. Rome: Herder, 1990.
- . "Umiliana dei Cerchi nascita di un culto nella Firenze del Duecento." *Studi Francescani* 77 (1980): 87–117.
- Berkey, Jonathan P. *Popular Preaching and Religious Authority in the Medieval Islamic Middle East*. Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2001.
- Bermejo y Carballo, D. José. *Glorias Religiosas de Sevilla, ó Noticia Histórico-Descriptiva de todas las Cofradías de Penitencia, Sangre y Luz Fundadas en Esta Ciudad*. Seville: Imprenta y Librería del Salvador, 1882.
- Bernstein, Moshe. "Angels at the Aqedah: A Study in the Development of a Midrashic Motif." *Dead Sea Discoveries* 7, no. 3 (2000): 263–291.
- Bestul, Thomas H. *Texts of the Passion. Latin Devotional Literature and Medieval Society*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996.
- Bhattacharji, Santha. "Tears and Screaming: Weeping in the Spirituality of Margery Kempe." In *Holy Tears: Weeping in the Religious Imagination*, edited by Kimberley Christine Patton and John Stratton Hawley, 229–241. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005.
- Binski, Paul. *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996.
- Bishop, Louise M. *Words, Stones, & Herbs: The Healing Word in Medieval and Early Modern England*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2007.
- Blackmore, Josiah. "Afeição and History-Writing: The Prologue of the 'Crónica de D. João I.'" *Luso-Brazilian Review* 34, no. 2 (1997): 15–24.
- Blaicher, Günther. "Das Weinen in mittellenglischer Zeit: Studien zur Gebärde des Weinens in historischen Quellen und literarischen Texten." PhD diss., Saarbrücken, Germany, 1966.
- Blanchfield, Lyn A. "The Sincere Body: The Performance of Weeping and Emotion in Late Medieval Italian Sermons." *Quidditas: Journal of the Rocky Mountain Medieval and Renaissance Association* 20 (1999): 117–135.
- . "Tears that Tell: The Ritualistic Uses of Weeping by Participants of Late Medieval Florentine Sermons." PhD diss., Binghamton University, 2003.
- Blanchfield, Lyn A., and Sheila Jennett. "Weeping." In *The Oxford Companion to the Body*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Bloomfield, Morton. *Piers Plowman as a Fourteenth-Century Apocalypse*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1962.
- Blumenfeld-Kosinski, Renate. *Reading Myth: Classical Mythology and Its Interpretations in Medieval French Literature*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997.

- Boertjes, Katja. "Pilgrim Ampullae from Vendome: Souvenirs from a Pilgrimage to the Holy Tear of Christ." In *Art and Architecture of Late Medieval Pilgrimage in Northern Europe and the British Isles*, edited by Sarah Blick and Rita Tekippe, 443–472. Leiden: Brill, 2005.
- Bonne, Jean-Claude. "Depicted Gesture, Named Gesture: Postures of Christ on the Autun Tympanum." *History and Anthropology* 1 (1984): 77–95.
- Bourdua, Louise. "Guariento's Crucifix for Maria Buvolini in San Francesco, Bassano: Women and Franciscan Art in Italy during the Later Middle Ages." In *Pope, Church and City: Essays in Honour of Brenda M. Bolton*, edited by Francis Andrews, Christopher Egger, and Constance M. Rousseau, 309–323. Leiden: Brill, 2004.
- Bowlby, John. *Attachment*. New York: Basic Books, 1969.
- Bowsky, William. "The Medieval Commune and Internal Violence: Police Power and Public Safety in Siena, 1287–1355." *American Historical Review* 73, no. 1 (October 1967): 1–17.
- . *A Medieval Italian Commune: Siena under the Nine, 1287–1355*. Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 1981.
- Brantley, Jessica. *Reading in the Wilderness: Private Devotion and Public Performance in Late Medieval England*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007.
- Braun, Edward. *Meyerhold on Theatre*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1969.
- Brinner, William M. "The Significance of the *Harafish* and their *Sultan*." *JESHO* 6, no. 2 (July 1963): 190–215.
- Bryan, Jennifer. *Looking Inward: Devotional Reading and the Private Self in Late Medieval England*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008.
- Büchsel, Martin. "Gothic Sculpture from 1150 to 1250." In *A Companion to Medieval Art*, edited by Conrad Rudolph, 404–405. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006.
- Bullough, Vern L., and James Brundage, eds. *Sexual Practices and the Medieval Church*. Buffalo, NY: Prometheus Books, 1982.
- Burns, E. Jane. "Raping Men: What's Motherhood Got to Do with It?" In *Representing Rape*, edited by Elizabeth Ann Robertson and Christine M. Rose, 127–160. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001.
- Bynum, Caroline Walker. "Did the Twelfth Century Discover the Individual?" *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 31 (1980): 1–17.
- . *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion*. New York: Zone Books, 1992.
- . *Holy Feast and Holy Fast. The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986.
- . *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages*. Los Angeles and Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982.
- . *Wonderful Blood: Theology and Practice in Late Medieval Northern Germany and Beyond*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007.
- Caciola, Nancy. *Discerning Spirits: Divine and Demonic Possessions in the Middle Ages*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003.
- Callahan, Leslie Abend. "The Widow's Tears: The Pedagogy of Grief in Medieval France and the Image of the Grieving Widow." In *Constructions of Widowhood and Virginity in the Middle Ages*, edited by Cindy L. Carlson and Angela Jane Weisl, 245–263. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999.
- Camille, Michael. *Gothic Art: Glorious Visions*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1996.
- . "Mouths and Meanings: Towards an Anti-Iconography of Medieval Art." In *Iconography at the Crossroads: Papers from the Colloquium Sponsored by the Index of Christian Art, Princeton University, 22–23 March 1990*, edited by

- Brendan Cassidy, 43–54. Princeton, NJ: Index of Christian Art and Department of Art and Archeology, Princeton University, 1993.
- Carlson, Marvin. "The Eternal Instant: Some Thoughts on Theatre and Religion." *Assaph: Studies in the Theatre* 12 (1996): 33–44.
- Carne, Eva-Maria. *Die Frauengestalten bei Hartmann von Aue: Ihre Bedeutung im Aufbau und Gehalt der Epen*. Vol. 31, *Marburger Beiträge zur Germanistik*. Marburg: Elwert, 1970.
- Carnicke, Sharon Marie. "The Life of the Human Spirit: Stanislavsky's Eastern Self." *Teatr: Russian Theatre Past and Present* 1 (2000): 3–14.
- . *Stanislavsky in Focus*. London: Overseas Publishers Association, 1998.
- Carrara, F. "La cappella di San Silvestro in Santa Croce e I Bardi mercanti e feudatary." *Antichità Viva* 36 (1997): 63–71.
- Carruthers, Mary. *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Casebier, Karen. "Ovid's Medieval Metamorphosis: Techniques of Persuasion in Chrétien de Troyes' *Philomena*." *Philological Quarterly* 80, no. 4 (2001): 441–462.
- Ceppari Ridolfi, Maria A., and Patrizia Turrini. *Il mulino delle vanità: Lusso e cerimonie nella Siena Medievale, col l'edizione dello Statuto del Donnaio, 1343*. Siena: Il Leccio, 1993.
- Christian, William A. *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1981.
- . "Provoked Religious Weeping in Early Modern Spain." In *Religious Organization and Religious Experience*, edited by J. Davis, 97–114. London: Academic Press, 1982.
- Christoph, Siegfried. "The Language and Culture of Joy." In *Words of Love and Love of Words in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, edited by Albrecht Classen, 319–333. Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2008.
- Chryssavgis, John. "A Spirituality of Imperfection: The Way of Tears in Saint John Climacus." *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 37, no. 4 (2002): 359–371.
- Cigman, Gloria. "The Preacher as Performer: Lollard Sermons as Imaginative Discourse." *Literature and Theology* 2, no. 1 (1988): 69–82.
- Claassens, L. Juliana M. "Calling the Keeners, the Image of the Wailing Woman as Symbol of Survival in a Traumatized World." *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion* 26, no. 1 (2010): 63–77.
- Clark, Margaret S. "Historical Emotionology: Some Comments from a Social Psychologist's Perspective." In *Social History and Issues in Human Consciousness*, edited by Peter N. Stearns and Andrew E. Barnes, 262–269. New York: New York University Press, 1989.
- Clark Hall, John R. *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1960.
- Classen, Albrecht, ed. *Childhood in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance: The Results of a Paradigm Shift in the History of Mentality*. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2005.
- . "Diu Klage—A Modern Text from the Middle Ages?" *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 96, no. 3 (1995): 315–329.
- . "Female Agency and Power in Gottfried von Strassburg's *Tristan*: The Irish Queen Isolde: New Perspectives." *Tristania* 23 (2005): 39–60.
- . "Floire et Blancheflor." In *Encyclopedia of Medieval Literature*, edited by Jay Ruid, 233–234. New York: Facts on File, 2006.
- . "*Mai und Beaflo*: Familientragödien, die Macht der Gefühle und rationales Kalkül in einem 'sentimentalen' Roman des späten 13. Jahrhunderts." *Futhark* 4 (2009): 85–107.
- . "*Mauritius von Craûn* and Otto von Freising's *The Two Cities*: Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Skepticism about Historical Progress and the Metaphor of the Ship." *German Quarterly* 79, no. 1 (2006): 28–49.

- . "Moriz, Tristan, and Ulrich as Master Disguise Artists: Deconstruction and Reenactment of Courtliness in *Moriz von Craûn*, *Tristan als Mönch*, and Ulrich von Liechtenstein's *Frauendienst*." *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 103, no. 4 (2004): 475–504.
- . "Roman Sentimental in the Middle Ages? *Mai und Beaflo* as a Literary Reflection of the Medieval History of Emotions." *Oxford German Studies* 35, no. 2 (2006): 83–100.
- . "Trauer müssen sie tragen: Postklassische Ästhetik des 13. Jahrhunderts in der *Klage*." *Ostbairische Grenzmarken. Passauer Jahrbuch für Geschichte, Kunst und Volkskunde* 41 (1999): 51–68.
- Cocchi, Arnaldo. *Le chiese di Firenze dal sec. IV al sec. XX*. Vol. 1, *Quartiere di S Giovanni*. Florence: n.p., 1903.
- Cohen, Charles Lloyd. *God's Caress: The Psychology of Puritan Religious Experience*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986.
- Cohen, Esther. *The Modulated Scream: Pain in Late Medieval Culture*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2010.
- Cohen, Jeffrey Jerome. *Medieval Identity Machines*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003.
- Cole, Andrew. *Literature and Heresy in the Age of Chaucer*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Coletti, Theresa. *Mary Magdalene and the Drama of the Saints: Theatre, Gender, and Religion in Late Medieval England*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004.
- Conca, Fabrizio, ed. and trans. *Il romanzo bizantino del XII secolo*. Turin: UTET, 1994.
- Conner, Patrick W. "The Structure of the Exeter Book Codex (Exeter, Cathedral Library, MS. 3501)." In *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: Basic Readings*, edited by Mary P. Richards, 301–315. New York: Routledge, 2000.
- Connerton, Paul. *How Societies Remember*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- Cooper, Tracey-Anne. "Inculcating the Idea of the Inner Heart into the Laity in Pre-Conquest England." *Learned and Popular in Medieval Christianities? Conceptualizing the Differences in Medieval Religiosities*, *Mirator* 9 (2008). http://www.glossa.f/mirator/index_en.html (accessed October 28, 2010).
- . "Lay Piety, Pastoral Care and the Compiler's Method in Late Anglo-Saxon England." *Haskins Society Journal* 16 (2006): 47–61.
- . "The Monastic Origins of Tovi the Proud's Adoration of the Cross." *Notes and Queries* 52, no. 4 (2005): 437–440.
- Cooperson, Michael. *Classical Arabic Biography: The Heirs of the Prophets in the Age of al-Ma'mun*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Cormier, Raymond J. "The Gift of Tears in Chrétien's Philomena." In *Beiträge zum romanischen Mittelalter*, edited by Kurt Baldinger, 193–197. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1977.
- . "Térée, le pêcheur fatal dans Philomena de Chrétien de Troyes." *Dalhousie French Studies* 24 (1993): 1–9.
- Corrigan, John, ed. *Religion and Emotion: Approaches and Interpretations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Corsi, Maria. "La rappresentazione del rito funebre e della sepoltura nella pittura senese del Medioevo." *Bullettino senese storia patria* (2004): 341–370.
- Cosgrove, Charles H. "A Woman's Unbound Hair in the Greco-Roman World, with Special Reference to the Story of the 'Sinful Woman' in Luke 7:36–50." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 124 (2005): 675–692.
- Craig, Leigh Ann. "'Stronger than Men and Braver than Knights': Women and the Pilgrimages to Jerusalem and Rome in the Later Middle Ages." *Journal of Medieval History* 29 (2003): 153–175.

- . *Wandering Women and Holy Matrons: Women as Pilgrims in the Later Middle Ages*. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009.
- Crozet, René. "Le monument de la sainte larme à la Trinité de Vendôme." *Bulletin monumental* 121 (1963): 171–180.
- Cubitt, Catherine, et al. "The History of Emotions: A Debate." *Early Medieval Europe* 10, no. 2 (2001): 225–256.
- Darwin, Charles. *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals*. 1st ed. N.p.: n.p., 1872.
- Daybell, James. *Women Letter-Writers in Tudor England*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- Decker, John. "Engendering Contrition, Wounding the Soul: Geertgen tot Sint Jans' Man of Sorrows." *Artibus et Historiae* 57 (2008): 59–74.
- . *The Technology of Salvation and the Art of Geertgen tot Sint Jans*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2009.
- Décréaux, Joseph. "Les reliques et le culte de Saint Lazare à Autun." In *Le tombeau de Saint Lazare et la sculpture romane à Autun après Gislebertus*, 117–119. Autun: Musée Rolin, 1985.
- Demos, E. Virginia. "An Affect Revolution: Silvan Tomkins' Affect Theory." In *Exploring Affect: The Selected Writings of Silvan S. Tomkins*, edited by Virginia E. Demos, 17–26. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Denny, Don. "The Last Judgement Tympanum at Autun: Its Sources and Meaning." *Speculum* 57 (1982): 532–547.
- Derbes, Anne. *Picturing the Passion in Late Medieval Italy: Narrative Paintings, Franciscan Ideologies, and the Levant*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Derrida, Jacques. *Memoirs of the Blind. The Self-Portrait and Other Ruins*. Translated by Pascale-Anne Brault and Michael Naas. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993.
- Diers, Michaela. *Vom Nutzen der Tränen: über den Umgang mit Leben und Tod im Mittelalter und heute*. Cologne: Dumont, 1994.
- Dietl, Cora. *Minnerede, Roman und historia: der "Wilhelm von Österreich"* *Johanns von Würzburg*. Vol. 87, *Hermæa, Neue Folge*. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1999.
- Dinzelbacher, Peter. *Angst im Mittelalter: Teufels-, Todes- und Gotteserfahrung: Mentalitätsgeschichte und Ikonographie*. Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1996.
- , ed. *Europäische Mentalitätsgeschichte: Hauptthemen in Einzeldarstellungen*. 2nd rev. ed. Stuttgart: Alfred Kröner, 2008.
- . "Gefühl und Gesellschaft im Mittelalter." In *Höfische Literatur, Hofgesellschaft, höfische Lebensformen um 1200: Kolloquium am Zentrum für Interdisziplinäre Forschung der Universität Bielefeld (3. bis 5. November 1983)*, edited by Gert Kaiser and Jan-Dirk Müller, 213–241. Düsseldorf: Droste, 1986.
- . *Warum weint der König? Eine Kritik des mediävistischen Panritualismus*. Badenweiler: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag, 2009.
- Donna, Rose Bernard. *Despair and Hope: A Study in Langland and Augustine*. Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1948.
- Duchet-Sachaux, Gaston, and Michel Pastoureau. *Le Bestiaire médiéval, dictionnaire historique et bibliographique*. Paris: Léopard d'Or, 2002.
- Durkheim, Émile. *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*. Translated by Karen E. Fields. New York: The Free Press, 1997.
- Duvernoy, Jean. *La religion des cathares*. Toulouse: Privat, 1976.
- Eaton, Roger David. "Langland's Malleable Lady Meed." In *This Noble Craft: Proceedings of the Xth Research Symposium of the Dutch and Belgian University Teachers of Old and Middle English and Historical Linguistics*, edited by Erik Kooper, 119–141. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1991.
- . "Language and Lady Meed: A Study of the Prologue and First Four Passus of *Piers Plowman*." PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1992.

- Ebersole, Gary L. "The Function of Ritual Weeping Revisited: Affective Expression and Moral Discourse." *History of Religions* 39, no. 3 (February 2000): 211–246. Reprinted in *Religion and Emotion: Approaches and Interpretations*, edited by John Corrigan, 185–222. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Eickelman, Dale F., and James L. Piscatori, eds. *Muslim Travellers: Pilgrim, Migration, and the Religious Imagination*. London: Routledge, 1990.
- Elkins, James. *Pictures & Tears*. New York and London: Routledge, 2001.
- Eming, Jutta. *Emotion und Expression: Untersuchungen zu deutschen und französischen Liebes- und Abenteuerromanen des 12. bis 16. Jahrhunderts*. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2006.
- Enders, Jody. *The Medieval Theater of Cruelty: Rhetoric, Memory, Violence*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999.
- Felder, Hilarin. *The Ideals of St. Francis of Assisi*. New York: Benzinger Brothers, 1925.
- Fenton, Paul. "Judaism and Sufism." In *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Jewish Philosophy*, edited by Daniel Frank and Oliver Leaman, 201–217. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Fiero, Gloria, Wendy Pfeffer, and Mathe Allain, eds. and trans. *Three Medieval Views of Women*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989.
- Finucane, Ronald C. *Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular Beliefs in Medieval England*. Totowa, NJ: Rowman and Littlefield, 1977.
- . *The Rescue of the Innocents: Endangered Children in Medieval Miracles*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000.
- Firey, Abigail. "Blushing before the Judge and Physician: Moral Arbitration in the Carolingian Empire." In *A New History of Penance*, edited by Abigail Firey, 173–200. Leiden: Brill, 2008.
- , ed. *A New History of Penance*. Leiden: Brill, 2008.
- Fishbane, Eitan. "Tears of Disclosure: The Role of Weeping in Zoharic Narrative." *Journal of Jewish Thought and Philosophy* 11, no. 1 (2002): 25–47.
- Fishbane, Michael. *The Exegetical Imagination*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998.
- Flaskerud, Ingvild. "'Oh My Heart Is Sad. It Is Moharram, the Month of Zaynab.' The Role of Aesthetics and Women's Mourning Ceremonies in Shiraz." In *The Women of Karbala: Ritual Performance and Symbolic Discourses in Modern Shii Islam*, edited by Kamran S. Aghaie, 65–91. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005.
- Fleckenstein, Josef, ed. *Das ritterliche Turnier im Mittelalter: Beiträge zu einer vergleichenden Formen- und Verhaltensgeschichte*. Vol. 80 of *Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1985 [appeared in 1986].
- Flynn, Maureen. *Sacred Charity: Confraternities and Social Welfare in Spain, 1400–1700*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1989.
- . "The Spectacle of Suffering in Spanish Streets." In *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe*, edited by Barbara A. Hanawalt and Kathryn L. Reyerson, 153–168. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994.
- . "Taming Anger's Daughters: New Treatment for Emotional Problems in Renaissance Spain." *Renaissance Quarterly* 51 (Autumn 1998): 864–886.
- Fögen, Thorsten, ed. *Tears in the Graeco-Roman World*. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2009.
- Fonrobert, Charlotte. "When the Rabbi Weeps: On Reading Gender in Talmudic Aggadah." *Nashim* 4 (2001): 56–84.
- Foster, Allyson. "A Shorte Treatyse of Contemplacyon: The Book of Margery Kempe in Its Early Print Contexts." In *A Companion to The Book of Margery*

- Kempe, edited by John H. Arnold and Katherine J. Lewis, 95–112. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004.
- Fowler, Elizabeth. "Civil Death and the Maiden: Agency and the Conditions of Contract in *Piers Plowman*." *Speculum* 70 (1995): 760–792.
- Fowler, Roger. "A Late Old English Handbook for the Use of a Confessor." *Anglia* 83 (1965): 1–34.
- Frenzel, Elisabeth. *Stoffe der Weltliteratur: Ein Lexikon dichtungsgeschichtlicher Längsschnitte*. Kröners Taschenausgabe 300. 8th rev. ed. Stuttgart: Alfred Kröner Verlag, 1992.
- Frey, William H. *Crying: The Mystery of Tears*. Minneapolis, MN: Winston Press, 1985.
- Friesen, Ilse E. "Saints as Helpers in Dying: The Hairy Holy Women Mary Magdalen, Mary of Egypt, and Wilgefortis in the Iconography of the Late Middle Ages." In *Death and Dying in the Middle Ages*, edited by Edelgard E. DuBruck and Barbara I. Gusick, 241–248. New York: Peter Lang, 1999.
- Fulton, Rachel. *From Judgment to Passion: Devotion to Christ and the Virgin Mary 800–1200*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2002.
- Galloway, Andrew. *The Penn Commentary on Piers Plowman, Volume 1: C Prologue-Passus 4; B Prologue-Passus 4; A Prologue-Passus 4*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006.
- Ganz, David. "Spuren der Bildwerdung. Zur Medialität gemalter Tränen im Spätmittelalter." In *Tränen*, edited by Beate Söntgen and Geraldine Spiekermann, 27–40. Munich: Fink Wilhelm, 2008.
- Gardeil, Ambrose. "La beatitude des larmes." *Vie Spirituelle* 39 (1934): 129–136.
- Gardenour, Brenda. "Gender in Medicine and Natural History." In *Medieval Science, Technology, and Medicine: An Encyclopedia*, edited by Thomas F. Glick, Steven Livesey, and Faith Wallis, 182–184. London: Routledge, 2005.
- Gardner, Julian. *The Tomb and the Tiara: Curial Tomb Sculpture in Rome and Avignon in the Later Middle Ages*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Gaudefroy Demombynes, M. *Muslim Institutions*. 1968. Reprint, London: Allen and Unwin, 2007.
- Gellens, Sam I. *Scholars and Travellers: The Social History of Early Muslim Egypt (218–487/833–1094)*. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International, 1992.
- Gentry, Francis G., ed. "A Companion to the Works of Hartmann von Aue." In *Studies in German Literature, Linguistics, and Culture*. Rochester, NY: Boydell Brewer, 2005.
- Gephart, Irmgard. *Der Zorn der Nibelungen: Rivalität und Rache im "Nibelungenlied"*. Cologne: Böhlau, 2005.
- Gertsman, Elina. "The Facial Gesture: (Mis)Reading Emotion in Later Medieval Art." *Journal of Medieval Religious Cultures* 36, no. 1–2 (2010): 28–46.
- Gerstel, Sharon E. J. "Painted Scenes for Female Piety in Byzantium." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 52 (1998), 89–111.
- . "Ritual Swimming and the Feast of the Epiphany." In *Abstracts of Papers, Twenty-First Annual Byzantine Studies Conference, 9–12 November 1995, New York University and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City*. New York: Byzantine Studies Conference, 1995.
- Ghéon, Henri. *St. Vincent Ferrer*. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1954.
- Gillet, Lev. "The Gift of Tears in the Ancient Tradition of the Christian East." *Sobornost* 12 (1937): 5–10.
- Gingras, George E. "Introduction." In *Egeria: Diary of a Pilgrimage*, 1–48. New York: Newman Press, 1970.
- Giurescu Heller, Ena. "Access to Salvation: The Place (and Space) of Women Patrons in Fourteenth-Century Florence." In *Women's Spaces: Patronage, Place, Gender*

- in *the Medieval Church*, edited by Virginia Chieffo Raguin and Sarah Stanbury, 161–183. New York: State University of New York Press, 2005.
- Godden, Malcolm. *The Making of Piers Plowman*. London: Longman, 1990.
- Gombrich, E. H. Review of *Gestures of Despair in Medieval and Early Renaissance Art*, by Moshe Barasch, *Burlington Magazine* 120 (1978): 762–763.
- Gómez Lara, Manuel J., and Jorge Jiménez Barrientos. *Semana Santa: Fiesta Mayor En Sevilla*. Seville: Ediciones ALFAR, 1990.
- González Rivas, Severino. *La penitencia en la primitiva iglesia española*. Salamanca: Universidad Eclesiástica de Salamanca, 1949.
- Goodland, Katharine. *Female Mourning and Tragedy in Medieval and Renaissance English Drama: From the Raising of Lazarus to King Lear*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2005.
- . “‘Us for to wepe no man mat lett’: Resistant Female Grief in the Medieval English Lazarus Plays.” In *The Representation of Women’s Emotion in Medieval and Early Modern Culture*, edited by Lisa Perfetti, 90–118. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005.
- Goodman, Anthony. *Margery Kempe and Her World*. London: Longman, 2002.
- Goody, Jack. *The Logic of Writing and the Organization of Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
- Gowland, Angus. “The Problem of Early Modern Melancholy.” *Past & Present* 191 (2006): 77–120.
- Grady, Frank. “*Piers Plowman*, St. Erkenwald, and the Rule of Exceptional Salvation.” *Yearbook of Langland Studies* 6 (1992): 61–88.
- . *Representing Righteous Heathens in Late Medieval England*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.
- Gratch, Jonathan, and Stacy Marsella. “Tears and Fears: Modeling Emotions and Emotional Behaviors in Synthetic Agents.” In *International Conference on Autonomous Agents, Proceedings of the Fifth International Conference on Autonomous Agents*. Montreal, Quebec, Canada, 2001. New York: ACM Press, 2001.
- Gravdal, Kathryn. “Chrétien de Troyes, Gratian, and the Medieval Romance of Sexual Violence.” *Signs* 16, no. 3 (1991): 558–585.
- . *Ravishing Maidens: Writing Rape in Medieval French Literature and Law*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991.
- Gray, Douglas. *Themes and Images in the Medieval English Religious Lyric*. London and Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972.
- Gray, Nick. “The Clemency of Cobblers: A Reading of ‘Glutton’s Confession’ in *Piers Plowman*.” *Leeds Studies in English* 17 (1986): 61–75.
- Green, Ian. *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Green, Richard Firth. *A Crisis of Truth: Literature and Law in Ricardian England*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999.
- Greenberg, Dina. “Gendered Expressions of Grief: An Islamic Continuum.” *Journal of Religion and Society* 9 (2007). <http://moses.creighton.edu/JRS/2007/200724.html> (accessed October 20, 2010).
- Greenfield, Stanley B. *A Critical History of Old English Literature*. New York: New York University Press, 1995.
- Grirot, Denis, and George Zarnecki. *Gislebertus: Sculptor of Autun*. New York: The Orion Press, 1961.
- Grundy, Lynne. *Books and Grace: Ælfric’s Theology*. *Kings College London Medieval Studies* 6. Exeter: Short Run Press, 1991.
- Guggisberg, Kurt. *Bernische Kirchengeschichte*. Bern: P. Haupt, 1958.
- de Guibert, Joseph. “La Componction du Coeur.” *Revue d’Ascétique et de Mystique* 15 (1934): 225–240.

- Hadermann-Misguich, Lydie. *Kurbinovo, Les fresques de Saint-Georges et la peinture byzantine du XIIIe siècle*. Brussels: Éditions de Byzantion, 1975.
- Halevi, Leor E. *Muhammad's Grave: Death Rites and the Making of Islamic Society*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2007.
- . "Wailing for the Dead: The Role of Women in Early Islamic Funerals." *Past & Present* 183 (2004): 3–39.
- Hämeen-Anttila, Jaako. *Maqama: A History of the Genre*. Wiesbaden: Harras-sowicz, 2002.
- Hamman, Richard. "Das Lazarusgrab in Autun." *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 8–9 (1936): 135–137.
- Hamann-Mac Lean, Richard, and Horst Hallensleben. *Die Monumentalmalerei in Serbien und Makedonien*. Giessen: W. Schmitz in Komm, 1963.
- Harding, Alan. *The Law Courts of Medieval England*. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1973.
- Harré, Rom, ed. *The Social Construction of the Emotions*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1986.
- Haselhurst, Richard Stafford Tyndale. *Some Account of the Penitential Discipline of the Early Church in the First Four Centuries*. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1921.
- Hasenohr, Geneviève. "Lacrimae pondera vocis habent: typologie des larmes dans la littérature de spiritualité française des XIIIe-XVe siècles." Special issue, *Moyen Français* 37 (1997): 45–63.
- Haskins, Charles H. *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*. 8th ed. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971.
- Hasty, Will. *Adventures in Interpretation: The Works of Hartmann von Aue and Their Critical Reception*. Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1996.
- Hausherr, Irénée. *Penthos: La Doctrine de la Componction dans l'Orient Chrétien*. Rome: Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1944.
- . *Penthos: The Doctrine of Compunction in the Christian East*. Translated by Anselm Hufstader. Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercians Publications, 1982.
- Herbermann, Charles George, et al., eds. *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. Vol. 1. New York: Robert Appleton Company; London: Caxton, 1907.
- . *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. Vol. 4. New York: Robert Appleton Company; London: Caxton, 1908.
- . *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. Vol. 8. New York: Robert Appleton Company; London: Caxton, 1910.
- Hirsh, John C. "Author and Scribe in *The Book of Margery Kempe*." *Medium Aevum* 44 (1975): 145–150.
- Hochschild, Arlie Russell. *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling*. 1983. Reprint, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California, 2003.
- Hoffmann, Werner. *Das Nibelungenlied: Grundlagen und Gedanken zum Verständnis erzählender Literatur*. Frankfurt: Diesterweg, 1987.
- Hornaday, Aline G. "Visitors from Another Space: The Medieval Revenants as Foreigners." *Meeting the Foreign in the Middle Ages*, edited by Albrecht Classen, 71–95. New York and London: Routledge, 2002.
- Howard, Donald R. *Writers and Pilgrims: Medieval Pilgrimage Narratives and their Posterity*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980.
- Howell, A. G. Ferrers. *S. Bernardino of Siena*. London: Methuen, 1913.
- Huber, Emily Rebekah. "'For Y am sorwe, and sorwe ys Y': Melancholy, Despair, and Pathology in Middle English Literature." PhD diss., University of Rochester, 2008.
- Hughes, Diane Owen. "Mourning Rites, Memory, and Civilization in Pre-Modern Italy." In *Riti e rituali nella società medioevale*, edited by Jacques Chiffolleau, Lauro Martines, and Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, 23–38. Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1994.

- Hughes, M. E. J. "The Feffement That Fals Hath Ymaked': A Study of the Image of the Document in *Piers Plowman* and Some Literary Analogues." *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 93 (1992): 125–133.
- Huizinga, Johan. *The Waning of the Middle Ages*. Translated by F. Hopman. New York: Anchor Books, 1954; London: Edward Arnold, 1963.
- Hutson, Lorna. *The Invention of Suspicion: Law and Mimesis in Shakespeare and Renaissance Drama*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Idel, Moshe. *Kabbalah: New Perspectives*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1980.
- Innes, Matthew. "Transmission of Family Memory, 700–1200." In *Medieval Memories: Men, Women, and the Past, 700–1300*, edited by Elisabeth M. C. van Houts, 17–35. New York: Longman, 2001.
- Iser, Wolfgang. *The Act of Reading*. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978.
- Jacobs, Lynn F. "The Inverted T-Shape in Early Netherlandish Altarpieces: Studies in the Relationship between Painting and Sculpture." *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 57 (1991): 33–65.
- . "Rubens and the Northern Past: The Michielsens Triptych and the Thresholds of Modernity." *Art Bulletin* 91 (September 2009): 302–424.
- Jacobus, Laura. "Gesture in the Art, Drama, and Social Life of Late Medieval Italy." PhD diss., Birckbeck College, University of London, 1994.
- . "Motherhood and the Massacre: The Massacre of the Innocents in Late Medieval Art and Drama." In *The Massacre in History*, edited by Mark Levine and Penny Roberts, 39–54. New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1999.
- Jaeger, C. Stephen and Ingrid Kasten, eds. *Codierungen von Emotionen im Mittelalter [Emotions and Sensibilities in the Middle Ages]. Trends in Medieval Philology 1*. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2003.
- Jalabert, Denise. "L'Ève de la cathédrale d'Autun: Sa place dans l'histoire de la sculpture romane." *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 91 (1949): 247–274.
- Jansen, Katherine Ludwig. *The Making of the Magdalen: Preaching and Popular Devotion in the Later Middle Ages*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000.
- Jeay, Madeleine. "Consuming Passions: Variations on the Eaten Heart Theme." In *Violence against Women in Medieval Texts*, edited by Anna Roberts, 75–96. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998.
- Jennings, Margaret. "The Art of the Pseudo-Origin Homily *De Maria Magdalena*." *Medievalia et Humanistica* 5 (1974): 139–152.
- Johnston, Andrew James. "The Secret of the Sacred: Confession and the Self in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*." In *Performances of the Sacred in Late Medieval and Early Modern England*, edited by Susanne Rupp and Tobias Döring, 45–64. Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2005.
- Jones, Gwyn. *History of the Vikings*. London: Oxford University Press, 1968.
- Jones, Linda G. "The Good Eloquent Speaker:" *Preaching, Power, and Identity in Medieval Iberia*. Forthcoming, New York Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . "Witnesses of God: Exhortatory Preachers in Medieval al-Andalus and the Maghreb." *Al-Qantara* 28, no. 1 (2007): 73–100.
- Jones, Nancy A. "By Woman's Tears Redeemed: Female Lament in St. Augustine's Confessions and the Correspondence of Abelard and Heloise." In *Sex and Gender in Medieval and Renaissance Texts: The Latin Tradition*, edited by Barbara K. Gold, Paul Allen Miller, and Charles Platter, 15–39. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997.
- . "The Daughter's Text and the Thread of Lineage in the Old French *Philomena*." In *Representing Rape*, edited by Elizabeth Ann Robertson and Christine M. Rose, 161–187. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001.

- Joplin, Patricia Klindienst. "The Voice of the Shuttle Is Ours." *Stanford Literature Review* 1, no. 1 (1984): 25–53.
- Jørgensen, Johannes. *Saint Francis of Assisi: A Biography*. Translated by Thomas O'Connor Sloane. London: Longman, 1912.
- Juergens, Albrecht. 'Wilhelm von Österreich:' *Johanns von Würzburg 'Historia Poetica' von 1314 und Aufgabenstellung einer narrativen Fürstenlehre*. Vol. 21, *Mikrokosmos*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1990.
- Jugie, Sophie. *The Mourners: Tomb Sculpture from the Court of Burgundy*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010.
- Kaftal, George. *Iconography of the Saints in Tuscan Painting*. Florence: Sansoni, 1952.
- Kang, Ji-Soo. "Clerical Anxiety, Margery's Crying, and Her Book." In *Global Perspectives on Medieval English Literature, Language, and Culture*, edited by Noel Kaylor and Richard Nokes, 41–58. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2007.
- . "Lollard Repression, Affective Piety and Margery Kempe." *Feminist Studies in English Literature* 11 (2003): 43–72.
- Karant-Nunn, Susan. *The Reformation of Feeling: Shaping the Religious Emotions in Early Modern Germany*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Kaster, Robert A. *Emotion, Restraint, and Community in Ancient Rome*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Katz, Stephen, ed. *The Cambridge History of Judaism*. Vol. 4. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Kazhdan, Aleksandr Petrovich, and Giles Constable. *People and Power in Byzantium: An Introduction to Modern Byzantine Studies*. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1982.
- Keen, Jill Averil. *The Charters of Christ and Piers Plowman: Documenting Salvation*. Oxford: Peter Lang, 2002.
- Keller, Hans-Erich. "De l'amour dans Philomena." In *L'imaginaire courtois et son double*, edited by Giovanna Angeli and Luciano Formisano, 361–370. Naples: Edizioni scientifiche italiane, 1991.
- Kemp, Wolfgang. *Der Anteil des Betrachters*. Munich: Mäander, 1983.
- , ed. *Der Betrachter ist im Bild: Kunstwissenschaft und Rezeptionsästhetik*. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1992.
- . "The Work of Art and Its Beholder: The Methodology of the Aesthetics of Reception." In *The Subjects of Art History: Historical Objects in Contemporary Perspective*, edited by Mark A. Cheetham, Michael Ann Holly, and Keith Moxey, 180–196. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Kemperdick, Stephan. *Der Meister von Flémalle: Die Werkstatt Robert Campins und Rogier van der Weydens*. Turnhout: Brepols, 1997.
- Kennedy, Kathleen E. *Maintenance, Meed, and Marriage in Medieval English Literature*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.
- . "Retaining Men (and a Retaining Woman) in *Piers Plowman*." *Yearbook of Langland Studies* 20 (2006): 191–214.
- Ker, Neil R. *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1957.
- Kilito, 'Abd al-Fattah. "Le genre 'séance.'" *Studia Islamica* 43 (1976): 25–51.
- King, Catherine. "Medieval Matrons, Italian Style." *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 55 (1992): 372–393.
- Kirschner, Robert. "Apocalyptic and Rabbinic Responses to the Destruction of 70." *Harvard Theological Review* 78, no. 1–2 (1985): 27–46.
- Kleinberg, Aviad M. *Prophets in Their Own Country: Living Saints and the Making of Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997.

- Knuuttila, Simo. *Emotions in Ancient and Medieval Philosophy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Koch, Elke. *Trauer und Identität: Inszenierungen von Emotionen in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters. Trends in Medieval Philology* 8. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2006.
- Koestler, Arthur. *The Act of Creation*. New York: MacMillan, 1964.
- Kohl, Benjamin G. "Fina da Carrara, nee Buzzacarini: Consort, Mother, and Patron of Art in Trecento Padua." In *Beyond Isabella: Secular Women Patrons of Art in Renaissance Italy*. Vol. 54, *Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies*, edited by Sheryl E. Reiss and David G. Wilkins, 19–35. Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2001.
- Koreny, Fritz. "Drawings by Vrancke van der Stockt." *Master Drawings* 41 (2003): 267–292.
- Kovesi Killerby, Catherine. *Sumptuary Law in Italy 1200–1500*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Koziol, Geoffrey. *Begging Pardon and Favor: Ritual and Political Order in Early Medieval France*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992.
- Kraß, Andreas. *Stabat mater dolorosa: Lateinische Überlieferung und volkssprachliche Übertragungen im deutschen Mittelalter*. Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1998.
- Krueger, Roberta L. "Philomena: Brutal Transitions and Courtly Transformations in Chrétien's Old French Translation." In *A Companion to Chrétien de Troyes*, edited by Norris J. Lacy and Joan Tasker Grimbert, 87–102. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2005.
- Ladis, Andres. Review of *Giotto and the Language of Gesture*, by Moshe Barasch. *Art Bulletin* 74 (1992): 169.
- . *Taddeo Gaddi: Critical Reappraisal and Catalogue Raisonné*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1982.
- Laird, James D. *Feelings: The Perception of Self*. Series in Affective Science. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Lande, Roland. "A Critical Review of the Major Studies of the Relationship between the Old French 'Floire et Blanceflor' and Its Germanic Adaptations." *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 30 (1986): 1–19.
- Lansing, Carol. *The Florentine Magnates: Lineage and Faction in a Medieval Commune*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991.
- . *Passion and Order: Restraint of Grief in the Medieval Italian Communes*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008.
- Lapidge, Michael. "B. and the *Vita Dunstani*." In *St Dunstan: His Life, Times and Cult*, edited by Nigel Ramsay, Margaret Sparks, and Tim Tatton-Brown, 247–259. Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1992.
- Largier, Niklaus. "Inner Senses—Outer Senses: The Practice of Emotions in Medieval Mysticism." In *Codierungen von Emotionen im Mittelalter (Emotions and Sensibilities in the Middle Ages)*, edited by C. Stephen Jaeger and Ingrid Kasten, 3–14. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2003.
- Larrington, Carolyne. "The Psychology of Emotion and Study of the Medieval Period." *Early Medieval Europe* 10, no. 2 (2001): 251–256.
- Leclercq, Jean, and Jean-Paul Bonnes. *Un maître spirituel du XIe siècle: Jean de Fécamp*. Paris: Vrin, 1946.
- Le Roy Ladurie, Emmanuel. *Montaillou: The Promised Land of Error*. Translated by Barbara Bray. New York: Vintage Books, 1979.
- Levinson, Joshua. "Dialogical Reading in the Rabbinic Exegetical Narrative." *Poetics Today* 25, no. 3 (2004): 497–528.
- Levy, Allison. "Augustine's Concessions and Other Failures: Mourning and Masculinity in Fifteenth-Century Tuscany." In *Grief and Gender: 700–1700*, edited by Jennifer C. Vaught, 81–85. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.

- Llompарт, Gabriel. "Penitencias y penitentes en la pintura y en la piedad catalanas bajomedievales." *Revista de Dialectología y Tradiciones Populares* 28, no. 3–4 (1972): 229–249.
- Lochrie, Karma. *Margery Kempe and Translations of the Flesh*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991.
- Londré, Felicia Hardison. *The History of World Theater: from the English Restoration to the Present*. New York: Continuum Publishing Co., 1999.
- Long, Jane. "Salvation through Meditation: The Tomb Frescoes in the Holy Confessors Chapel at Santa Croce in Florence." *Gesta* (1995): 77–88.
- Lot-Borodine, Myrrha. "La mystère du don des larmes dans l'Orient Chrétien." *Vie Spirituelle* 48 (1936): 65–116.
- Lutz, Tom. *Crying: A Natural and Cultural History of Tears*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1999.
- Maguire, Henry P. "The Depiction of Sorrow in Middle Byzantine Art." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 31 (1977): 123–174.
- Mâle, Emile. *Religious Art in France: The Twelfth-Century, a Study of the Origins of Medieval Iconography*. Edited by Harry Bober. Translated by Marthiel Matthews. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1978.
- Mahoney, Dhira B. "Margery Kempe's Tears and the Power over Language." In *Margery Kempe: A Book of Essays*, edited by Sandra J. McEntire, 37–50. New York: Garland, 1992.
- Mango, Cyril. "Discontinuity with the Classical Past in Byzantium." In *Byzantium and the Classical Tradition: University of Birmingham, Thirteenth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies*, edited by Margaret Mullett and Roger Scott, 48–57. Birmingham: Centre for Byzantine Studies, University of Birmingham, 1981.
- Marder, Elisa. "Disarticulated Voices: Feminism and Philomela." *Hypatia* 7, no. 2 (2002): 148–166.
- Marks, Peter. "Urinating on the Homework but Still Seeking the Audience's Affection." *New York Times*, May 6, 1997. <http://theater.nytimes.com/mem/theater/review.html?res=9b01e5db1030f935a35756c0a961958260> (accessed October 26, 2010).
- Martin, John R. *The Illustration of the Heavenly Ladder of John Climacus*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1954.
- de Martino, Ernesto. *Morte e pianto rituale: dal lamento funebre antico al pianto di Maria*. 1958. Reprint, Turin: Paolo Boringhieri, 1975.
- . *Morte e pianto rituale nel mondo antico dal lamento pagano al pianto di Maria*. Turin: Edizioni Scientifiche Einaudi, 1958.
- Marx, C. W. "The *Quis dabit* of Oglerius de Tridino, Monk and Abbot of Locedio." *Journal of Medieval Latin* 4 (1994): 118–129.
- Maurice-Chabard, Brigitte. "Le culte de saint Lazare à Autun: le cheminement des pèlerins." *Revue d'Auvergne* 114 (2000): 139–143.
- Mayne, Tracy J., and George A. Bonanno. *Emotions: Current Issues and Future Directions*. New York: Guilford Press, 2001.
- McCall, John P. "Chaucer and the Pseudo Origen *De Maria Magdalena*: A Preliminary Study." *Speculum* 46 (1971): 491–509.
- McCash, June Hall. "Philomena's Window: Issues of Intertextuality and Influence in Works of Marie de France and Chrétien de Troyes." In *De Sens Rassis*, edited by Keith Busby, Bernard Guidot, and Logan E. Whalen, 415–430. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2005.
- McClure, George W. *Sorrow and Consolation in Italian Humanism*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991.
- McConnell, Winder. *The Epic of Kudrun: A Critical Commentary*. Vol. 463, *Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik*. Göttingen: Kümmerle, 1988.

- McCracken, Peggy. "Engendering Sacrifice: Blood, Lineage, and Infanticide in Old French Literature." *Speculum* 77, no. 1 (2002): 55–75.
- McEntire, Sandra J. "The Doctrine of Compunction from Bede to Margery Kempe." In *The Medieval Mystical Tradition in England*, edited by Marion Glasscoe, 49–57. Cambridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1987.
- . *The Doctrine of Compunction in Medieval England: Holy Tears*. Lewiston, NY: E. Mellen Press, 1991.
- . "Walter Hilton and Margery Kempe: Tears and Compunction." In *Mysticism: Medieval & Modern*, edited by Valerie M. Lagorio, 77–90. Salzburg: University of Salzburg, 1986.
- McGuire, Brian Patrick. *The Difficult Saint: Bernard of Clairvaux and His Tradition*. Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1991.
- . *Friendship and Community: The Monastic Experience 350–1250*. Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1988.
- McNamer, Sarah. *Affective Meditation and the Invention of Medieval Compassion*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010.
- . "Feeling." In *Middle English*, edited by Paul Strohm, 241–257. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Melve, Leidulf. "The Revolt of the Medievalists' Directions in Recent Research of the Twelfth Century Renaissance." *Journal of Medieval History* 32 (2006): 231–252.
- Mendelson, Michael. "Saint Augustine." In *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (2000). <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/augustine/> (accessed September 29, 2010).
- Michalsky, Tanja. *Memoria und Representation: Die Grabmaler des Königshauses Anjou in Italien*. Göttingen: Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, 2000.
- Mikva, Rachel S. "Midrash *vaYosha* and the Development of Narrative in Medieval Jewish Exegesis." PhD diss., Jewish Theological Seminary, 2008.
- Miller, E. *Manuelis Philae carmina*. Paris: n.p., 1857.
- Millet, Gabriel. *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'Évangile aux XIVe, XVe et XVIe siècles d'après les monuments de Mistra, de la Macédoine et du mont Athos*. 2nd ed. Paris: Editions E. De Boccard, 1960.
- Mintz, Alan. *Hurban: Responses to Catastrophe in Jewish Literature*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1996.
- Mitchell, Alexander George. "Lady Meed and the Art of *Piers Plowman*." In *Style and Symbolism in Piers Plowman*, edited R. J. Blanch, 174–193. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1968.
- Morgan, Gerald. "The Status and Meaning of Meed in the First Version of *Piers Plowman*." *Neophilologus* 72 (1988): 449–463.
- Morris, Colin. *The Discovery of the Individual 1050–1200*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987.
- Moussaieff Masson, Jeffrey, and Susan McCarthy. *When Elephants Weep: The Emotional Lives of Animals*. New York: Delacorte Press, 1995.
- Murphy, Colette. "Lady Holy Church and Meed the Maid: Re-Envisioning Female Personifications in *Piers Plowman*." In *Feminist Readings in Middle English Literature: The Wife of Bath and All Her Sect*, edited by Ruth Evans and Lesley Johnson, 140–164. London and New York: Routledge, 1994.
- Murray, Stephen. *A Gothic Sermon: Making a Contract with the Mother of God, Saint Mary of Amiens*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2004.
- Nagy, Piroska. "Larmes et eucharistie. Formes du sacrifice en Occident au Moyen Âge central." In *Pratiques de l'eucharistie dans les Églises d'Orient et d'Occident (Antiquité et Moyen Âge)*, edited by Nicole Bériou, Béatrice Caseau, and Dominique Rigaux, 2:1073–1109. Paris: Institut d'Études augustiniennes, 2009.

- . *Le don des larmes au Moyen Âge: un instrument spirituel en quête d'institution, Ve-XIIIe siècle*. Paris: Albin Michel, 2000.
- . "Les larmes du Christ dans l'exégèse médiévale." *Médiévales* 27 (1994): 37–49.
- . "Religious Weeping as Ritual in the Medieval West." *Social Analysis* 48, no. 2 (Summer 2004): 119–137.
- Nagy, Piroška, and Damien Boquet, eds. *EMMA: Emotions in the Middle Ages*. <http://emma.hypotheses.org/> (accessed November 17, 2010.)
- , eds. *Le sujet des émotions au Moyen Âge*. Paris: Beauchesne, 2008.
- Nelson, Judith Kay. *Seeing through Tears*. New York: Routledge, 2005.
- Nesse, R. M. "Evolutionary Explanation of Emotions." *Human Nature* 1 (1990): 261–283.
- Newby, Gordon D. *The Making of the Last Prophet: A Reconstruction of the Earliest Biography of Muhammad*. 1989. Reprint, Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2009.
- Newman, Barbara. *From Virile Woman to Woman Christ: Studies in Medieval Religion and Literature*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995.
- Nickel, Helmut. "The Tournament." In *The Study of Chivalry: Resources and Approaches*, edited by Howell Chicerking and Thomas H. Seiler, 213–262. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1988.
- Nora, Pierre. "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire." *Representations* 26 (Spring 1989): 7–25.
- Ogden, Dunbar H. *The Staging of Drama in the Medieval Church*. Newark and London: University of Delaware Press, 2002.
- O'Loughlin, Thomas, and Helen Conrad-O'Brian. "The 'Baptism of Tears' in Early Anglo-Saxon Sources." *Anglo-Saxon England* 22 (2007): 65–84.
- O'Reilly, Jennifer. "Early Medieval Text and Image: The Wounded and Exalted Christ." *Peritia* 6–7 (1987–1988): 72–118.
- van Os, Henk W. *Sienese Altarpieces (1215–1344)*. Vol. 1, *Sienese Altarpieces, 1215–1460: Form, Content, Function*. *Mediaevalia Groningana* 4. Translated by Michael Hoyle. Groningen: Bouma's Boekhuis, 1988.
- O'Sullivan, Katherine K. "'To crye and to wepe': Discourses of Tears in *Piers Plowman*." PhD diss., University of Connecticut, 2011.
- Ousterhout, Robert. *The Art of the Kariye Camii*. London and Istanbul: Scala, 2002.
- Panofsky, Erwin. *Early Netherlandish Painting: Its Origin and Character*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1953.
- . *Tomb Sculpture: Four Lectures on Its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1967.
- Parani, Maria G. *Reconstructing the Reality of Images: Byzantine Material Culture and Religious Iconography (Eleventh to Fifteenth Centuries)*. Leiden: Brill, 2003.
- Parenti, Daniela, ed. *Giovanni da Milano: capolavori del gotico fra Lombardia e Toscana*. Florence: Giunti; Galleria dell'Accademia, 2008.
- Parker, Kate. "Lynn and the Making of a Mystic." In *A Companion to The Book of Margery Kempe*, edited by John H. Arnold and Katherine J. Lewis, 55–73. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004.
- Patton, Kimberley Christine, and John Stratton Hawley, eds. *Holy Tears: Weeping in the Religious Imagination*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005.
- Payen, Jean-Charles. *Le motif du repentir dans la littérature française médiévale: des origines à 1230*. Geneva: Droz, 1967.
- Pedersen, Johannes. "The Criticism of the Islamic Preacher." *Die Welt des Islams* 2 (1953): 215–231.
- . "The Islamic Preacher." In *Ignace Goldziher Memorial Volume*, edited by Samuel Lowinger and Joseph Somogyi, 226–251. Budapest: Globus, 1948.

- Perfetti, Lisa. *Women and Laughter in Medieval Comic Literature*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003.
- Pfeffer, Wendy. *The Change of Philomel: The Nightingale in Medieval Literature*. New York: Peter Lang, 1985.
- Plamper, Jan. "The History of Emotions: An Interview with William Reddy, Barbara Rosenwein, and Peter Stearns." *History and Theory* 49 (2010): 237–265.
- Plaumann, Susanne. "Theatrale Züge in der Höfischen Repräsentation: Die Inszenierung des Turniers im 'Mauricius von Craûn.'" *Zeitschrift für Germanistik* 13, no. 1 (2003): 26–40.
- Polen, Nehemiah. "Sealing the Book with Tears: Divine Weeping on Mt. Nebo and in the Warsaw Ghetto." In *Holy Tears: Weeping in the Religious Imagination*, edited by Kimberley Christine Patton and John Stratton Hawley, 83–93. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005.
- Pope-Hennessy, John. *The Portrait in the Renaissance*. London: Phaidon, 1966.
- Possamai-Pérez, Marylène. *L'Ovide moralisé, essai d'interprétation*. Paris: Champion, 2006.
- , ed. *Nouvelles études sur l'Ovide moralisé*. Paris: Champion, 2009.
- Powers, David S. *Muhammad Is Not the Father of Any of Your Men: The Making of the Last Prophet*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009.
- Pucko, V. G. "Dva fragmenta Konstantinopol'skih licev'ih rukopisej tret'ej četverti XI V. iz sobranija GPB (greč 334 i 373)." *Vizantijskij Vremennik* 31 (1971): 121–127.
- Purdon, Liam O., and Cindy L. Vitto, eds. *The Rusted Hauberk: Feudal Ideals of Order and Their Decline*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1994.
- Putzo, Christine. "Konrad Fleck, Flore und Blanscheffur. Neuedition und Untersuchungen zu Autor, Text und Überlieferung." PhD diss., University of Hamburg, 2009.
- Quarré, Pierre. "Les sculptures du tombeau de saint Lazare à Autun et leur place dans l'art roman." *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 5 (1962): 169–174.
- Radcliffe-Brown, Alfred Reginald. *The Andaman Islanders*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922.
- Radstone, Susannah, Corinne Squire, and Amal Treacher, eds. *Public Emotions*. Vol. 6, *Perri*. Houndmills, UK: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007.
- Ramsay, Nigel, Margaret Sparks, and Tim Tatton-Brown, eds. *St. Dunstan: His Life, Times and Cult*. Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1992.
- Raymond, Joad. "Walker, Henry (fl. 1638–1660)." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/40242>.
- Recht, Roland. *Believing and Seeing: The Art of Gothic Cathedrals*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008.
- . "Le tombeau de saint Lazare à Autun: Synthèse du travail de Richard Hamman." In *Le tombeau de Saint Lazare et la sculpture romane à Autun après Gislebertus*, 39–41. Autun: Musée Rolin, 1985.
- Reddy, William. M. *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of the Emotions*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Régamey, Pie-Raymond. "La compunction du Coeur." *Vie Spirituelle* 45: S1 (1935): 8–21.
- Restle, Marcell. *Byzantine Wall Painting in Asia Minor*. Translated by Irene Gibbons. 3 vols. Greenwich, CT: New York Graphic Society, 1968. Reprint, Shannon: Irish University Press, 1969.
- Reynolds, Dwight F., et al, eds. *Interpreting the Self: Autobiography in the Arabic Literary Tradition*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2001.

- Richa, G. *Notizie Storiche delle chiese Fiorentine Divise ne suoi Quartieri, Pt. Prima del Quartiere di Santa Croce*. N.p.: n.p., 1754.
- Richards, Mary P., ed. *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: Basic Readings*. New York: Routledge, 2000.
- Richter, Gregor, and Albert Schonfelder, eds. *Sacramentarium Fuldense saeculi X: Cod. Theol. 231 der K. Universitätsbibliothek zu Göttingen*. Fulda, 1912. Reprint, Farnborough: Saint Michael's Press, 1977.
- Riddy, Felicity. "Text and Self in *The Book of Margery Kempe*." In *Voices in Dialogue: Reading Women in the Middle Ages*, edited by Linda Olson and Kathryn Kerby-Fulton, 435–453. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005.
- Ringbom, Sixten. "Devotional Images and Imaginative Devotions: Notes on the Place of Art in Late Medieval Piety." *Gazette des Beaux Arts* 6 (1969): 159–170.
- . *Icon to Narrative: The Rise of the Dramatic Close-up in Fifteenth-Century Devotional Painting*. 2nd ed. Doornspijk: Davaco, 1984.
- Rivers, Kimberly. *Preaching the Memory of Virtues and Vice: Memories, Images, and Preaching in the Late Middle Ages*. Vol. 4, *Sermo*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2010.
- Roach, Joseph. *The Player's Passion: Studies in the Science of Acting*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993.
- Robertson, Elizabeth. "Medieval Medical Views of Women and Female Spirituality in the *Ancrene Wisse* and Julian of Norwich's *Showings*." In *Feminist Approaches to the Body in Medieval Literature*, edited by Linda Lomperis and Sarah Stanbury, 142–167. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993.
- Robertson, Elizabeth, and Christine M. Rose, eds. *Representing Rape in Medieval and Early Modern Literature*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2001.
- Robinson, Fred C. "The Devil's Account of the Next World." *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 73 (1972): 362–371.
- Rodríguez Cacho, Lina. "El Viaje de Encina con el Marqués: otra lectura de la *Tribagia*." In *Humanism y literatura en tiempos de Juan del Encina*, edited by Javier Guijarro Ceballos, 163–182. Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 1999.
- Rogers, Elizabeth Frances. *Peter Lombard and the Sacramental System*. Merrick, NY: Richwood, 1976.
- Rollier, Gilles. "Essai de reconstitution du Tombeau: résultants et limites." In *Le tombeau de Saint Lazare et la sculpture romane à Autun après Gislebertus*, 42–103. Autun: Musée Rolin, 1985.
- . "Nouvelles données sur le tombeau de saint Lazare à Autun." *Revue d'Auvergne* 114 (2000): 126–138.
- Rosenthal, Franz. *Sweeter than Hope: Complaint and Hope in Medieval Islam*. Leiden: Brill, 1983.
- Rosenwein, Barbara H., ed. *Anger's Past: The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998.
- . "Emotion Words." In *Le Sujet des Émotions au Moyen Âge*, edited by Piroška Nagy and Damien Boquet, 93–106. Paris: Editions Beauchesne, 2008.
- . *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006.
- . "Thinking Historically about Medieval Emotions." *History Compass* 8, no. 8 (2010): 828–842.
- . "Worrying about Emotions in History." *American Historical Review* 107, no. 3 (2002): 821–845.
- . "Writing without Fear about Early Medieval Emotions." *Early Medieval Europe* 10 (2001): 229–234.
- Ross, Ellen. "'She Wept and Cried Right Loud for Sorrow and for Pain': Suffering, the Spiritual Journey, and Women's Experience in Late Medieval Mysticism." In *Maps of Flesh and Light: The Religious Experience of Medieval Women*

- Mystics*, edited by Ulrike Wiethaus, 45–59, 163–166. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1993.
- Rubenstein, Jeffrey. *Talmudic Stories: Narrative Art, Composition, and Culture*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999.
- Rubin, Miri. *Mother of God: A History of the Virgin Mary*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010.
- Rubin, Uri. *The Eye of the Beholder: The Life of Muhammad as Viewed by Early Muslims*. Princeton, NJ: Darwin Press, 1995.
- Rudd, Gillian. *Managing Language in Piers Plowman*. Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1994.
- Rudolph, Conrad, ed. *A Companion to Medieval Art*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006.
- Russell, J. Stephen. "Lady Meed, Pardons, and the *Piers Plowman Visio*." *Mediaevalia* 8 (1982): 239–257.
- Salih, Sarah. "Margery's Bodies: Piety, Work and Penance." In *A Companion to The Book of Margery Kempe*, edited by John H. Arnold and Katherine J. Lewis, 161–176. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004.
- Salmeda, Mikko, and Verena Mayer, eds. *Emotions, Ethics, and Authenticity*. Philadelphia and Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Co., 2009.
- Saltz, David. "Infiction and Outfiction: The Role of Fiction in Theatrical Performance." In *Staging Philosophy: Intersections of Theatre, Performance, and Philosophy*, 203–220. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006.
- Sánchez Gordillo, Alonso. *Religiosas Estaciones que Frecuenta la Religiosidad Sevillana*. 1737. Reprint, Seville: Consejo General de Hermandades y Cofradía de la Ciudad de Sevilla, 1982.
- Sánchez Herrero, José. *La Cofradía de la Preciosa Sangre de Cristo de Sevilla. La importancia de la devoción a la Preciosa Sangre de Cristo en la desarrollo de la devoción y la imaginería de la Semana Santa*. Zaragoza: Universidad de Zaragoza, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Departamento de Historia Medieval, 1999.
- . "Las Cofradías Sevillanas. Los Comienzos." In *Las Cofradías de Sevilla: Historia, Antropología, Arte*, 9–34. Seville: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Sevilla, 1985.
- . *Las devociones pasionarias en la Sevilla de los siglos XIV y XV: Las hermandades de Jesús Nazareno*. Córdoba: Cajasur, 1991.
- Sander, Jochen. *Niederländische Gemälde im Stadel 1400–1550*. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1993.
- Sansterre, Jean-Marie. "L'image blessée, l'image souffrante. Quelques récits de miracles entre Orient et Occident (VI^e—XII^e siècle)." In *Les images dans les sociétés médiévales. Pour une histoire comparée*, edited by Jean-Marie Sansterre, 113–130. Turnhout: Brepols, 1999.
- Sawyer, Peter. *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Vikings*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Sawyer, Robert Keith. *Social Emergence: Societies as Complex Systems*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Saxer, Victor. *Le culte de Marie Madeleine en Occident: des origines à la fin du Moyen Age*. 2 vols. Paris: Clavreuil, 1959.
- Scase, Wendy. "Writing and the Plowman: Langland and Literacy." *Yearbook of Langland Studies* 9 (1995): 121–131.
- Schacht, Joseph. *Introduction to Islamic Law*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982.
- Schapiro, Meyer. *Romanesque Architectural Sculpture: The Charles Eliot Norton Lectures*. Edited by Linda Seidel. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006.
- . *Romanesque Art: Selected Papers*. New York: George Brazillier, 1977.

- Schein, Sylvia. "Bridget of Sweden, Margery Kempe, and Women's Jerusalem Pilgrimage." *Mediterranean Historical Review* 14 (1999): 44–58.
- Schlager, Bernard. "Foundresses of the Franciscan Life: Umiliana Cerchi and Margaret of Cortona." *Viator* 29 (1998): 141–166.
- Schmaus, Michael. *Dogma 5: The Church as Sacrament*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 1975.
- Schmitt, Jean-Claude. *La raison des gestes dans l'Occident médiéval*. Paris: Editions Gallimard, 1990.
- Schnell, Rüdiger. "Macht im Dunkeln: Welchen Einfluß hatten Ehefrauen auf ihre Männer? Geschlechterkonstrukte in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit." In *Zivilisationsprozesse: Zu Erziehungsschriften in der Vormoderne*, edited by Schnell, 309–329. Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2004.
- Schreiner, Klaus. "Marias Tränen: die mitleidende Gottesmutter als Vorbild christlicher Frömmigkeit." In *Marias Allerorten: Die Muttersgottes mit dem geneigten Haupt, 1699–1999*, edited by Museen der Stadt Landshut, 207–224. Landshut: Museen der Stadt, 1999.
- Schuchman, Anne M. "Politics and Prophecy in the Life of Umiliana dei Cerchi." *Florilegium* 17 (2000): 101–114.
- Schulz, Armin. *Poetik des Hybriden: Schema, Variation und intertextuelle Kombinatorik in der Minne- und Aventureepik: Willehalm von Orlens—Partonopier und Meliur—Wilhelm von Österreich—Die schöne Magelone*. Vol. 161, *Philologische Studien und Quellen*. Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 2000.
- Schwartz, Lorraine. "Patronage and Franciscan Iconography in the Magdalen Chapel at Assisi." *Burlington Magazine* 133 (1991): 32–36.
- Scragg, Donald G. "The Devil's Account of the Next World' Revisited." *American Notes and Queries* 24 (1986): 107–110.
- Sedgwick, Eve Kosofsky. *Touching Feeling: Affect, Pedagogy, Performativity*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003.
- Seidel, Linda. *Legends in Limestone: Lazarus, Gislebertus, and the Cathedral of Autun*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999.
- Settis, Salvatore. "Ars moriendi: Cristo e Meleagro." *Annali della Scuola normale superiore di Pisa* 4, no. 1–2 (2000): 145–170.
- Siebert, Barbara. *Rezeption und Produktion: Bezugssysteme in der "Kudrun"*. Vol. 491, *Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik*. Göttingen: Kümmerle, 1988.
- Simpson, James. "From Reason to Affective Knowledge: Modes of Thought and Poetic Form in *Piers Plowman*." *Medium Aevum* 55 (1986): 1–23.
- . *Piers Plowman: An Introduction*. 2nd ed. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2007.
- von Simson, Otto G. "Compassio and Co-redemptio in Roger van der Weyden's *Descent from the Cross*." *Art Bulletin* 35 (1953): 9–16.
- Siraisi, Nancy. *Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine: An Introduction to Knowledge and Practice*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990.
- Sluhovsky, Moshe. *Believe Not Every Spirit: Possession, Mysticism, & Discernment in Early Modern Catholicism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007.
- Smail, Daniel Lord. *The Consumption of Justice: Emotions, Publicity, and Legal Culture in Marseilles 1264–1423*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003.
- Smail, Daniel Lord, and Kelly Gibson, eds. *Vengeance in Medieval Europe: A Reader*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009.
- Smith, Margaret. *The Way of the Mystics*. London: Sheldon Press, 1976.
- Smoor, Pieter. "Death, the Elusive Thief: The Classical Arabic Elegy." In *Hidden Futures: Death and Immortality in Ancient Egypt, Anatolia, the Classical, Biblical, and Arabic-Islamic World*, edited by Jan Maarten Bremer, Theo P. J. van der Hout, and Rudolph Peters, 151–176. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1994.

- Spackman, Helen. "Minding the Matter of Representation: Staging the Body (Political)." *Contemporary Theatre Review* 10, no. 3 (2000): 5–22.
- Spindler, Robert. *Das altenglische Bußbuch*. Leipzig: Bernard Tauchnitz, 1934.
- Sponsler, Claire. "Drama and Piety: Margery Kempe." In *A Companion to The Book of Margery Kempe*, edited by John Arnold and Katherine J. Lewis, 129–143. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004.
- . *Drama and Resistance: Bodies, Goods, and Theatricality in Late Medieval England*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997.
- Sprinkle, Annie. *Annie Sprinkle: Post-Porn Modernist: My 25 Years as a Multi-Media Whore*. San Francisco: Cleis Press, 1998.
- Staley, Lynn. "The Man in Foul Clothes and a Late Fourteenth-Century Conversation about Sin." *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 24 (2002): 1–47.
- . *Margery Kempe's Dissenting Fictions*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994.
- . "The Trope of the Scribe and the Question of Literary Authority in the Works of Julian of Norwich and Margery Kempe." *Speculum* 66 (1991): 820–838.
- Starr-Lebeau, Gretchen. "Lay Piety and Community Identity in the Early Modern World." In *A New History of Penance*, edited by Abigail Firey, 395–417. Leiden: Brill, 2008.
- Stearns, Carol Z., and Peter N. Stearns. *Anger: The Struggle for Emotional Control in America's History*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986.
- . "Emotionology: Clarifying the History of Emotions and Emotional Standards." *American Historical Review* 90, no. 4 (October 1985): 813–836.
- Steidle, P. Basilius. "Die tränen, ein mystisches Problem im alten Mönchtum." *Benediktinische Monatschrift* 20 (1938): 681–687.
- Steiner, Emily. "Langland's Documents." *Yearbook of Langland Studies* 14 (2000): 95–107.
- Steinhoff, Judith. "Reality and Ideality in Sienese Renaissance Cityscapes." In *Renaissance Siena: Art in Context*, edited by A. L. Jenkins, 21–45. Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2005.
- Stern, Alfred. *Philosophie des Lachens und Weinens*. Vol. 18, *Überlieferung und Aufgabe*. 1949. Reprint, Vienna: R. Oldenbourg, 1980.
- Stevenson, Jill. *Performance, Cognitive Theory, and Devotional Culture: Sensual Piety in Late Medieval York*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010.
- Stokes, Charity Scott. "Margery Kempe: Her Life and the Early History of Her Book." *Mystics Quarterly* 15 (1999): 3–67.
- Stratford, Neil. "Le Mausolée de Saint Lazare à Autun." In *Le tombeau de Saint Lazare et la sculpture romane à Autun après Gislebertus*, 11–38. Autun: Musée Rolin, 1985.
- Streignart, Joseph. "L'Ève de la Cathédrale Saint-Lazare d'Autun et le Jeu d'Adam et Ève." *Les études classiques* 18 (1950): 452–454.
- Strocchia, Sharon. *Death and Ritual in Renaissance Florence*. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992.
- . "Death Rites and the Ritual Family in Renaissance Florence." In *Life and Death in Fifteenth-Century Florence*, edited by Marcel Tetel, Ronald G. Witt, and Rona Goffen, 120–145. Durham, NC, and London: Duke University Press, 1989.
- Suckale, Robert. "Rogier van der Weydens Bild der Kreuzabnahme und sein Verhältnis zu Rhetorik und Theologie. Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Erneuerung der Stilkritik." In *Meisterwerke der Malerei: von Rogier van der Weyden bis Andy Warhol*, edited by Reinhard Brandt, 10–44. Leipzig: Reclam, 2001.
- Sulzberger, Suzanne. "La descente de croix de Rogier van der Weyden." *Oud Holland* 78 (1963): 150–151.
- Sumption, Jonathan. *Pilgrimage: An Image of Mediaeval Religion*. Totowa, NJ: Rowman and Littlefield, 1975.

- Swartz, Merlin L. "Arabic Rhetoric and the Art of the Homily in Medieval Islam." In *Religion and Culture in Medieval Islam*, edited by R. G. Hovannisian and G. Sabagh, 39–65. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- . "The Rules of the Popular Preacher in Twelfth-Century Baghdad, According to Ibn al-Jawzī." In *Prédication et propagande au Moyen Age, Islam, Byzance, Occident*, edited by George Makdisi, Dominique Sourdel, and Janine Sourdel-Thomine, 223–239. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1983.
- Talbi, M. "Les *bida'*." *Studia Islamica* 12 (1960): 43–77.
- Tavormina, M. Theresa. *Kindly Similitude: Marriage and Family in Piers Plowman*. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1995.
- Tentler, Thomas N. *Sin and Confession on the Eve of the Protestant Reformation*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977.
- Thevenot, Émile. *Autun: Cité Romaine et Chrétienne: Histoire-Monuments-Sites*. Autun: Imprimerie-Librairie L. Taverne et Ch. Chandiooux, 1932.
- Thürlemann, Felix. "Händescheidung ohne Köpfe? Dreizehn Thesen zur Praxis der Kennerschaft am Beispiel der Meister von Flémalle/Rogier van der Weyden-Debatte." *Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte* 62 (2005): 225–232.
- . *Robert Campin: A Monograph with Critical Catalogue*. New York: Prestel, 2002.
- . *Rogier van der Weyden: Leben und Werk*. Munich: Beck, 2006.
- . "Schüler von Robert Campin sein." In *Emil Bosshard Paintings Conservator (1945–2006): Essays by Friends and Colleagues*, edited by Maria de Peverelli, 235–255. Florence: Centro Di, 2009.
- Tiedens, Larissa Z., and Colin Wayne Leach, eds. *The Social Life of Emotions, Studies in Emotion and Social Interaction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Todić, Branislav. *Staro Nagoričino*. Belgrade: n.p., 1993.
- Tomasek, Tomas. *Gottfried von Straßburg*. Stuttgart: Reclam, 2007.
- Tomkins, Sylvan S. *Affect Imagery Consciousness: The Negative Affects*. New York: Springer Publishing Co., 1963.
- Tooby, John, and Leda Cosmides. "The Past Explains the Present: Emotional Adaptation and the Structure of Ancestral Environments." *Ethology and Sociobiology* 2 (1990): 375–424.
- Toporkov, Vasily Osipovich. *Stanislavsky in Rehearsal: The Final Years*. New York: Theatre Arts Books, 1979.
- Travis, William. "The Iconography of the Choir Capitals at Saint-Lazare of Autun and the Anagogical Way in Romanesque Sculpture." *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift* 68 (1999): 220–249.
- . "The Journey to Emmaus Capital at Saint-Lazare at Autun." In *The Art and Architecture of Late Medieval Pilgrimage in Northern Europe and the British Isles*, edited by Sarah Blick and Rita Tekippe, 187–215. Leiden: Brill, 2005.
- Trexler, Richard C. *Public Life in Renaissance Florence*. 1980. Reprint, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991.
- Trudel, Guy. "The Middle English *Book of Penance* and the Readers of the *Cursor Mundi*." *Medium Ævum* 74 (2005): 10–33.
- Ulrich, Peter. *Imitatio et configuratio: Die Philosophia spiritualis Heinrich Seuses als Theologie der Nachfolge des Christus passus*. Regensburg: Pustet, 1995.
- Utterback, Kristine T. "Vision Becomes Reality: Medieval Women Pilgrims to the Holy Land." In *Pilgrims and Travelers to the Holy Land*, edited by Bryan F. Le Beau and Menadem Mor, 159–168. Omaha, NE: Creighton University Press, 1996.

- Valdez del Alamo, Elizabeth, and Carol Pendergast, eds. *Memory and the Medieval Tomb*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2000.
- Vaucher, André. *La sainteté en Occident aux derniers siècles du Moyen Âge d'après les procès de canonisation et les documents hagiographiques*. Rome: École française de Rome, 1981.
- Vaught, Jennifer C., and Lynne Dickson Bruckner, eds. *Grief and Gender: 700–1700*. New York and Houndmills, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.
- Verdi Webster, Susan. *Art and Ritual in Golden Age Spain: Sevillian Confraternities and the Processional Sculpture of Holy Week*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998.
- Vicare, Marie-Humbert. "La prière charismatique au Moyen Âge: Le cas des prêcheurs." In *Dominique et ses prêcheurs*, 410–430. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1977.
- Vincent-Buffault, Anne. *Histoire des larmes: XVIIIe-XIXe siècles*. Paris: Editions Rivages, 1986.
- . *The History of Tears: Sensibility and Sentimentality in France*. Translated by Teresea Bridgeman. 1986. Reprint, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991.
- Vizcaino, Juan M. "Las obras de zuhd en al-Andalus." *Al-Qantara* 12, no. 2 (1991): 420–438.
- Voaden, Rosalyn. "Travelers with Margery: Pilgrimage in Context." In *Eastward Bound: Travel and Travelers, 1050–1550*, edited by Rosamund Allen, 177–195. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004.
- Wagner, Karen. "Cum aliquis venerit ad sacerdotem: Penitential Experience in the Central Middle Ages." In *A New History of Penance*, edited by Abigail Firey, 201–218. Leiden: Brill, 2008.
- Wagtendonk, Kees. *The Stories of David in Tha'alibi's "Qisas al-anbiya'."* In *La signification du Bas Moyen Âge dans l'histoire et la culture du monde musulman: actes du 8me Congrès de l'Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants: Aix-en-Provence—Septembre 1976*. Aix-en-Provence: Edisud, 1978.
- Wandhoff, Haiko. "Bilder der Liebe—Bilder des Todes: Konrad Flecks Flore-Roman und die Kunstbeschreibungen in der höfischen Epik des deutschen Mittelalters." In *Die poetische Ekphrasis von Kunstwerken: eine literarische Tradition der Großdichtung in Antike, Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, edited by Christine Ratkowitsch, 55–76. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2006.
- . *Ekphrasis: Kunstbeschreibungen und virtuelle Räume in der Literatur des Mittelalters. Trends in Medieval Philology* 3. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2003.
- Warr, Cordelia. "Painting in Late Fourteenth-Century Padua: The Patronage of Fina Buzzacarini." *Renaissance Studies* 10 (1996): 139–155.
- Watkins, Owen C. *The Puritan Experience: Studies in Spiritual Autobiography*. New York: Schocken Books, 1972.
- Watson, Nicholas. "The Making of *The Book of Margery Kempe*." In *Voices in Dialogue: Reading Women in the Middle Ages*, edited by Linda Olson and Kathryn Kerby-Fulton, 395–434. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005.
- Webb, Diana. *Saints and Cities in Medieval Italy*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007.
- Weinand, Heinz Gerd. *Tränen: Untersuchungen über das Weinen in der deutschen Sprache und Literatur des Mittelalters*. Vol. 5, *Abhandlungen zur Kunst-, Musik- und Literaturwissenschaft*. Bonn: H. Bouvier, 1958.
- Weissman, Hope Phyllis. "Margery Kempe in Jerusalem: *Hysterica Compassio* in the Late Middle Ages." In *Acts of Interpretation: The Text in Its Contexts, 700–1600*, edited by Mary J. Carruthers and Elizabeth D. Kirk, 201–217. Norman, OK: Pilgrim Books, 1982.

- Weitzmann, Kurt, and Massimo Bernabò. *The Byzantine Octateuchs*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999.
- Wenzel, Franziska. "Die Geschichte des gefährlichen Brautvaters: ein strukturalistisch-anthropologisches Experiment zur *Kudrun*." *Euphorion* 99, no. 3 (2005): 395–423.
- Werckmeister, Otto Karl. "The Lintel Fragment Representing Eve from Saint-Lazare, Autun." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 35 (1972): 1–30.
- Westerkamp, Dirk. "Laughter, Catharsis, and the Patristic Conception of Embodied Logos." In *Embodiment in Cognition and Culture*, edited by John Michael Krois et al., 221–242. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Co., 2007.
- White, R. Andrew. "Stanislavsky and Ramacharaka: The Influence of Yoga and Turn-of-the-Century Occultism on the System." *Theatre Survey* 47, no. 1 (May 2006): 73–92.
- White, Stephen D. "The Politics of Anger." In *Anger's Past: The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages*, edited by Barbara H. Rosenwein, 127–152. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998.
- Wilmart, André. "Un opuscule sur la confession composé par Guy de Southwick vers la fin du XII^e siècle." *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 7 (1953): 337–352.
- Wilson, Janet. "Communities of Dissent: The Secular and Ecclesiastical Communities of Margery Kempe's Book." In *Medieval Women in their Communities*, edited by Diane Watt, 155–185. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997.
- Winfield, David C., and Ernest J. W. Hawkins. "The Church of Our Lady at Asinou, Cyprus." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 21 (1967): 262.
- Wirth, Jean. *La Datation de la Sculpture Médiévale*. Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2004.
- Wolfthal, Diane. "A Hue and a Cry': Medieval Rape Imagery and Its Transformation." *Art Bulletin* 75, no. 1 (1993): 39–64.
- . *Images of Rape: The "Heroic" Tradition and Its Alternatives*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Yoshikawa, Naoë Kukita. "Holy Medicine and Diseases of the Soul: Henry of Lancaster and *Le Livre de Seyntz Medicines*." *Medical History* 53, no. 3 (2009): 397–414.
- Youngs, Deborah. *The Life Cycle in Western Europe, c. 1300 to c. 1500*. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2006.
- Zeeman, Nicolette. *Piers Plowman and the Medieval Discourse of Desire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Contributors

Lyn A. Blanchfield received her PhD in medieval Italian history from Binghamton University. Her dissertation concerns weeping as a ritualistic behavior in the performance of late medieval Italian sermons. She has published several articles, the most recent one on the public weeping of Savonarola's female followers, and is currently working on a project about public insults in Savonarolan Florence. She teaches history at SUNY Oswego in Oswego, New York.

Marian Bleeke is Assistant Professor of Art History at Cleveland State University. She received her PhD in Art History from the University of Chicago and has taught at Beloit College, Southern Illinois University at Carbondale, and the State University of New York at Fredonia. Her work focuses on Romanesque and Gothic sculpture; on issues involving women, gender, and the body in medieval art; and on the history and theory of reception and response. She is currently working on a book on medieval representations of the female body and ideas about motherhood.

Dr. Albrecht Classen is University Distinguished Professor of German Studies at the University of Arizona and has published more than sixty scholarly books and more than five hundred articles on the German and European Middle Ages and early modern age. He is the editor of the three-volume *Handbook of Medieval Studies* (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 2010), and has just prepared a new book entitled *War and Peace in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times* (also with de Gruyter). He serves as editor of *Tristania* and of the international and interdisciplinary journal *Mediaevistik*. In 2004 the German government awarded him with the Bundesverdienstkreuz am Band (Order of Merit). In 2009 he won the Five Star Faculty Award (campus-wide, student-only nomination process) for his teaching accomplishments.

Tracey-Anne Cooper joined the history department at St. John's University in 2006 with an MA (2001) and a PhD (2005) in Medieval History from Boston College. She graduated from Lancaster University, UK,

in 1997 with a BA (first class) in Medieval and Renaissance Studies. Cooper's main area of research is Anglo-Saxon England and she is particularly interested in manuscript studies, and intellectual and religious history. She is currently revising her dissertation, "Reconstructing a Deconstructed Manuscript, Community and Culture: London BL Cotton Tiberius A.iii," which is under contract with the Pontifical Institute for Medieval Studies.

Elina Gertsman is Assistant Professor of Medieval Art at Case Western Reserve University. She is the author of *The Dance of Death in the Middle Ages: Image, Text, Performance* (2010) and the editor of *Visualizing Medieval Performance: Perspectives, Histories, Contexts* (2008); in addition, *Thresholds of Medieval Visual Culture: Liminal Spaces*, co-edited with Jill Stevenson, is forthcoming from Boydell and Brewer. She has published articles on death and the macabre; medieval emotion and gesture; and relationships between medieval art and performance. Her next book will examine the rhetoric of secrecy, the discourse of containment, and the tropes of unveiling within the context of the increasingly important roles of sight and touch in late medieval devotional art.

Linda G. Jones is currently Adjunct Professor of History of Religions at the University of Barcelona. Between 2007 and 2010, she was a Juan de la Cierva Researcher in Medieval Studies at the Spanish National Research Council in Barcelona, Spain. Her research focuses on medieval Islamic preaching in al-Andalus and the Maghreb; the body, emotionality, and religion in medieval Islam; and comparative medieval Christian and Muslim historiography on Spain and the Maghreb. In addition to authoring several journal articles and book chapters on these topics, she is currently revising her award-winning doctoral dissertation into two forthcoming books, *"The Good Eloquent Speaker": Preaching, Power, and Identity in Medieval Iberia and the Maghreb* and *The Anonymous Mudejar Preacher of Aragon: Defending the Faith, Mediating between Cultures. Edition, Preliminary Study and Translation of Ms. C/3 Biblioteca de la Junta*.

Irit Ruth Kleiman is Assistant Professor of French at Boston University. She is completing a book about the *Mémoires* of Philippe de Commines and has published essays on topics including Chrétien de Troyes's Grail narrative, the medieval Judas Iscariot, and Alain Chartier. Her research interests include the intersection between the law and literature, psychoanalysis and textual hermeneutics, theories of language, and betrayal as both archetype and political crime.

Kimberley-Joy Knight is a doctoral student in the St. Andrews Institute for Mediaeval Studies at the University of St. Andrews, Scotland. She

received both her MA with honors (2006) and MLitt with distinction (2008) in Mediaeval History from St. Andrews. She is currently writing a thesis on the Gift of Tears in the thirteenth century under the supervision of Professor Frances Andrews.

Henry Maguire is Emeritus Professor in the History of Art Department at Johns Hopkins University. Between 1991 and 1996 he was the Director of Byzantine Studies at Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, DC. He is the author of numerous articles and books on Byzantine art and culture, including *Art and Eloquence in Byzantium* (1981, repr. 1994); “*The Icons of Their Bodies*”: *Saints and their Images in Byzantium* (1996); *Other Icons: Byzantine Secular Culture and the Power of Art* (with Eunice Dauterman Maguire, 2006); *Dynamic Splendor: The Wall Mosaics in the Cathedral of Eufrasius at Poreč* (with Ann Terry, 2007); and *San Marco, Byzantium, and the Myths of Venice*, coedited with Robert Nelson, 2011. Among Maguire’s current interests are Byzantine art and nature; medieval sculpture in Venice; court culture; and pilgrimage art.

Rachel S. Mikva is the Herman E. Schaalman Assistant Professor of Jewish Studies at Chicago Theological Seminary. She is editor of *Broken Tablets: Restoring the Ten Commandments and Ourselves* (Woodstock, VT: Jewish Lights, 1999). Her research focuses on the intersections of biblical exegesis, culture, and ethics.

Katherine K. O’Sullivan is a PhD candidate in the Medieval Studies Program at the University of Connecticut. Her dissertation examines tears as cultural symbols in *Piers Plowman*. O’Sullivan’s previous work on John Lydgate has been published in *Mediaevalia*, and she was the managing editor of *Mystics Quarterly*. Currently, she lives in the Netherlands and works as an educational consultant for students writing bachelor, master’s, and PhD theses at Dutch universities.

Barbara H. Rosenwein, Professor at Loyola University Chicago and visiting professor at the University of Utrecht (2005), the École Normale Supérieure (2004), and the École des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (1992), received her PhD degree in History from the University of Chicago. She is author of many articles and has written several books on Cluny, including *To Be the Neighbor of Saint Peter: The Social Meaning of Cluny’s Property, 909–1049* (1989) and *Negotiating Space: Power, Restraint, and Privileges of Immunity in Early Medieval Europe* (1999). On the subject of emotions, she is (among other things) editor of *Anger’s Past: The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages* (1998) and author of *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (2006). She is currently working on a history of emotions in the West from antiquity to the eighteenth century.

Judith Steinhoff received her PhD from Princeton University and is currently Associate Professor of Medieval Art at the University of Houston. Her contribution to this volume is part of a longer book project on “Representations and Rituals of Death, Burial, and Grieving in Gothic Italy: The Roles of Women.” The topic itself is an outgrowth of her interest in the social and political functioning of trecento religious imagery. She is also currently coediting *Art as Politics in Late Medieval and Renaissance Siena*, which is under contract with Ashgate Press. In previous publications, Steinhoff has analyzed representations of the city of Siena appearing in religious images, identifying the specific sociopolitical meanings of individual images commissioned in civic contexts. In 2007 she published *Sienese Painting after the Black Death: Artistic Pluralism, Politics, and the New Art Market* with Cambridge University Press, which considered various image types that fostered civic identity in trecento Siena as well as the ways artistic style functioned as iconography or enhanced the civic subtext of those images.

Christopher Swift is a doctoral student at The Graduate Center, City University of New York and teaches Theatre History at Marymount Manhattan College. His dissertation focuses on ritual performance and intercultural exchange in late medieval Andalusia. Towards completion of an MFA at Carnegie Mellon University/Moscow Arts Theatre School, he performed in plays at Teatr Tabakova, Moscow.

Dr. Felix Thürlemann, a professor of the History and Theory of Art at the University of Konstanz, was educated in Zurich, Besançon, Paris (École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales), and New York (the Institute of Fine Arts). His research interests include visual semiotics, early Netherlandish painting, and theory of diagrams. Among his many publications are *Vom Bild zum Raum: Beiträge zu einer semiotischen Kunstwissenschaft* (1990); *Robert Campin: A Monographic Study with Critical Catalogue* (2002); *Rogier van der Weyden: Leben und Werk* (2006); *Dürers doppelter Blick* (2008); *Rom: Eine Stadt in Karten* (coauthored with Steffen Bogen, 2009); and *Das Bild im Plural: Mehrteilige Bildformen zwischen Mittelalter und Gegenwart* (coedited with David Ganz, 2010). Between 1982 and 1984 Thürlemann was a member of the Swiss Institute in Rome.

Index

Note: page numbers in **bold** indicate figures.

A

- A. O., *xvii*, 249, 257–260; *Spiritual experiences*, 258, 259, 266n76
- Abba, Rabbi, 166–167
- ‘Abd al-Rahman III, al-Nasir (Andalusi Umayyad caliph), 122–126
- Abelard and Heloise, 240
- Abraham, 158–168 *passim*, 170nn23–24, 171n29, 171n32; at Mt. Moriah, 159–160; of Sodom and Gomorrah, 162
- Abu ‘Abd Allah al-Huwari, 117
- Abu ‘Imran Musa, 116, 117, 119, 120
- Abu l-Darda’, 105
- Abu Zayd, 104, 114, 129n12
- Abu Zur’a al-Razi, 121
- Actor Prepares, An* (Constantin Stanislavsky), 91, 93, 100n73
- actor(s), 81, 82, 90–93
- Adam, 111, 113, 127, 132n44; drawing (*Bearing of the Body of Christ to the Tomb, The*), 62; painting (*Madrid Descent from the Cross*), 64; sculpture (St.-Lazare at Autun), 18, 28
- Adnés, Pierre, 138
- afección*, 85, 87, 89, 97n36, 98n55. *See also* affect
- affect, *xiv*, 29, 30, 40, 79–101, 211; distress-anguish, 89, 99n59; expressive, 89, 244n4; in acting, 87–94; inner and outer, 88; penitential, 83; somatic, 93; sorrowful, 80; surveillance of, 84; transformation of, 85
- affectus*, 85, 99n58. *See also* affect
- al-Tujibi. *See* Ibn al-Adib al-Tujibi
- al-bakka’un* (Muslim ascetic weepers), 105, 106
- al-Basri. *See* Basri, al-
- al-Hariri. *See* Hariri, al-
- al-Hurayfish. *See* Hurayfish, al-
- al-Jahiz. *See* Jahiz, al-
- al-Jawzi. *See* Ibn al-Jawzi
- al-Maqqari. *See* Maqqari, al-
- al-Mawsili. *See* Mawsili, al-
- al-Muslama. *See* Muslama, al-
- al-Razi. *See* Abu Zur’a al-Razi
- al-Sakhawi. *See* Sakhawi, al-
- al-Turtushi. *See* Turtushi, al-
- Tusi. *See* Tusi, al-
- Alatruye, Barthélemy, 62
- Aleppo, 106
- Alexios, 13
- Ælfric of Eynsham, 183, 190n38
- Allen, Hope Emily, 257
- Althoff, Gerd, 231, 243
- Ambraser Heldenbuch*, 235, 236
- Andreas*, 183, 185, 190n45, 191nn46–54
- Andrew of Crete, 8
- Andrew, Saint, 19, 19, 28, 183–184
- angel(s), *xixn*17, 26, 56, 61, 62, 72n14, 73n24, 108, 160–166, 168, 171nn32–33, 183; Archangel Gabriel, 252
- Anglo-Saxon England, 175–192 *passim*
- Anne, Saint, 43, 251
- Another Homily Concerning Judgment Day* (Vercelli Homily XV), 185–186, 192n58
- Anthony of Padua, 142, 152n37
- Antiquity, 39
- Apocalypse of Baruch, The*, 166
- Apostolos-Cappadona, Diane, 177
- Aquinas, Thomas of, 83, 92, 96n24, 97n25; *Summa Theologica*, 195

- Aristotle, 37, 49n10, 84–85, 96n21, 168, 172n42
- ascetic weepers, 103, 106–115, 116–117. *See also* *al-bakka'un*
- Ashkenazi Jews, 158, 163
- Athanasias, Patriarch of Constantinople, 13
- Æthelred the Unready, King of England, 177–178
- Æthelwine, Ealdorman of East Anglia, 178–179
- attritio*, 96n24, 97n25. *See also* attrition
- attrition, 83–84, 96n24
- Audi Filia* (Juan de Ávila), 88–89, 92–93
- Aue, Hartmann von, 233
- Augustine, 35, 85, 95n7, 145, 196, 209
- Avallon, 27
- Ávila. *See* Juan de Ávila
- B**
- Babylonian Talmud*, 157, 166, 169n6
- Babylonians, 156
- Bakirtzis, Charalambos, 3
- Baldwin, Anna, 193
- bar Abraham, Judah, 163
- bar Meshullam, David, 163
- bar Yohai, Shimon, 166–167
- Barasch, Moshe, *xv*, *xxi*, *xxn*19, 38–40, 51n31, 54, 72n14
- Bardi di Vernio family, 42, 43
- Baseotto, Paula, 257
- Basil of Caesarea, Saint, 6
- Basri al-, al-Hasan, 105
- Basser, Herbert, 157
- Bayeux Tapestry, 24
- Beamont, Count and Countess of. *See* *Mauritius von Craün*
- Bearing of the Body of Christ to the Tomb*, *The* (Robert Campin), 62, 63, 64, 74n31, 74n33, 75n24
- Belting, Hans, 40
- ben Jacob of Bonn, Ephraim, 164, 165
- Benedict, Saint, 41, 46, 51n33, 178
- Benedictine Reform, 175, 176
- Beowulf*, 176–177, 187n5, 188n14
- Bernard of Clairvaux, Saint, *xiii*, 35, 58, 138, 153n48, 227n14
- Bethany, 24–25
- Bethel, 25
- Bethlehem, 25
- Bible, 6, 73nn26–27, 158, 162, 164, 216. *See also* New Testament; Old Testament
- bid'al/bida'* (innovation/s), 118, 120, 131n30
- Bishop's Lynn, 249, 251, 260
- Black Death of 1348, 47
- Blanchfield, Lyn A., *xv*, *xxi–xxx*, 301
- Bleeke, Marian, *xv*, *xvii*, 16–34, 301
- blood, *xiii*, 48, 64, 79, 86, 87, 88, 90, 91, 97n31, 100n66, 110, 112, 140, 145, 163, 172n42, 183, 184, 185, 198, 209, 217, 218, 219, 220, 224, 225, 227n14, 233; as a relic of Christ, *xi*, *xii*
- blood libel, 171n26
- blushing, *xxii*, *xxixn*11, 81, 88, 90
- Bohemond, 13
- Bologna, 47
- Bonaventure, 35, 96n25, 97n41
- Boncompagno da Signa, 46, 47
- Book of Good Love* (Juan Ruiz), *xxiii–xxvi*
- Book of Holy Medicines, The* (Henry of Grosmont), *xii*
- Book of Margery Kempe*, *xvii*, 249–260 *passim*
- Book of Penance*, 197–198, 206nn20–22
- Brünhild. *See* *Nibelungenlied*
- Bunyan, John: *Grace Abounding*, 260
- Buonarotti, Michelangelo. *See* Michelangelo
- Burton, Robert, 257
- Butler-Bowdon family, 257
- Byzantium: arts and society, *xv*, 3–15 *passim*, 38, 39, 40, 142, 152n36; *The Burial of Jacob* (Octateuch, the Vatican), 8, 10; *Death of the Virgin* (Koimesis; Church of the Trinity at Sopocani), 11–12, 12; *Death of the Virgin* (Koimesis; Church of the Virgin at Asinou), 8; *Entombment of Christ* (Church of St. George at Staro Nagoricino), 11; *The Lament* (*Threnos*; Church of St. George at Kurbinovo), 8; *The Lamentation* (St. Clement at Ohrid), 3–5, 4, 5, 10; *The Lamentation* (*Threnos*; Church of the Koimesis, Gračanica), 11, 11; Massacre of the Innocents (Old Church at Tokali Kilise), 8–10, 10; *Penitential Canon*, 8, 9; *The Raising of Lazarus* (Church of the Virgin

at Asinou), 7–8, 7; *Wedding at Cana* (Kariye Camii), 3, 4

C

Caesarius of Heisterbach: *Dialogus miraculorum*, 140, 143, 144

Calvin, 257

Campin, Robert, 56, 62, 66, 70n2, 72n24, 73nn24–25, 74n31; *The Bearing of the Body of Christ to the Tomb*, 62, 63, 64, 73n24, 74n31, 74n33; Seilern and Mérode Triptychs, 62; *Triptych with the Entombment* (Seilern), 60, 61

Carolingian period, 81, 82; ms. from Fulda, 82

Carrara, Francesco da, 37

Cassien, Saint, 27

Catechetical Discourses (Symeon the New Theologian), 142

Cathars, the, 141

charism, 139

Charta Bannorum, 47

Chaucer: *Parson's Tale*, 255, 265; *Wife of Bath's Tale*, 198

Christ, 38, 58, 73n26, 80, 183, 184; as Child, 66, 68; as depicted by Campin, 62–65, 73n25; as depicted by Gaddi, 42–43, 48–49; as depicted by Giotto, 41–42, 45–49; as depicted by van der Weyden, 55, 56, 57, 58, 62; as ideal king, 205n19; as the Man of Sorrows, *xiv*, *xiv*, *xv*, 40, 238; at the death of Lazarus, 6–7, 8, 19; at the wedding of Cana, 3; blood of, 88; cross of, 144, 189n34; crucifixion of, *xiv*, 72n13, 144; death of, 8, 10, 13, 14, 38, 41, 56, 57, 66, 69–70, 74n34; denial of, 72n22; deposition of, *xvi*, 30, 70, 80; entombment of, 11, 42; feminization of, *xii*; Franciscan image of, 87; illustrations of, *xiv*, 4, 36, 43, 63, 65, 69; imitation of, 153n44; in A. O.'s *Spirituell experiences*, 258–259; in Geertgen tot sint Jans's *Man of Sorrows*, *xiv*; in Julian's *Revelation of Love*, 255; in *Book of Margery Kempe*, 250–254, 257, 258, 259; journey to Golgotha, 87; lament over, 8;

letter patent of, 195; marriage to, 141; mother of, 198, 244; Orléans sculpture of, *xiii–xiv*; Passion of, 13, 35, 55, 56, 57, 62, 70, 82, 90, 136, 153n44; relics of, *xi*, *xii*; resurrection of, *xii*, 70, 74n34; sculpture of (at Saint-Lazare), 21, 27, 28, 30, 32n22; second coming of, 182; sepulcher of, 188n14; suffering of (“Christus Patiens”) *xiii*, *xv*, 40, 79, 89, 109, 202; tears of, 150n20, 204n5; wounds of, 93

Christ II (Cynewulf), 185

Christ III, 182, 187n5

Christian, William A., *xxi*, *xxix*n16; “Provoked Religious Weeping in Early Modern Spain,” *xxv*

Christianity: art of, 3, 109; as depicted in the art of Giotto, 49; confessional practices of, 85; conversion to, 240 (*see also* conversion); Crusades, 25, 162–165 *passim*; deportment in bereavement, 6, 8; Diocletian Persecution, 185; doctrine of, 137; early period, 27; Eastern, 39, 137, 148n6; festivals of, 84, 107; homilies of, 175, 181–186, 190n37; ideological concepts of, 56; Latin myth in, 209, 218, 225; medieval discourse of, *xv*, *xvi*; mind/body duality of, 85; mysticism in, 172n36 (*see also* mysticism); ordering of penance, 96n14; Passion of Christ as personal experience, 13; penitential processions of, 91; poetry of, 175, 176, 181–186, 190n37; practice of, 175; pre-, 177; preachers of, 109; scripture of, 61, 133nn54; themes of, *xvi*, 176, 212, 221, 237, 239; theology of, 175; thinkers and writers of, 35, 49, 83, 209; Western, 35, 37, 39, 138

Christine de Pizan, 46

“Christus Patiens”, 40

Chrysostom, John, 6, 8, 11, 35

Church of England, 257

Church of the Holy Sepulchre, 25, 252

Cicero, 85

Classen, Albrecht, *xvii*, 230–248, 301

Clovis I, King of the Franks, 41

Cnut, King of England, Denmark and Norway, 177–181, 186, 188n23
Cofradía del Santo Entierro, 84
cofradía(s), 84. *See also* confraternities
 cognition, 80, 88, 92
 Cole, Andrew, 250, 261
 communication: between heaven and earth, 168; multilayered, 166; nonverbal, xxxn32, 243; of emotion, 83; political, 178; subtle, 231; systems of, 88
 communion, 251, 259
 Comnena, Anna, 13, 15n34
compassio, 70. *See also* tears: *lacrimae compassionis*
 compunction, 251: doctrine of, 138; kinds of, 182–183; of the heart, 137; tears of, xii, 65–66, 73n29, 137, 154, 182–186, 252
 confession, 5, 73n28, 80, 81, 85, 96n25, 97n26, 99n56, 197, 204nn2, 206n22, 231, 251, 256, 258; allegory of, 16; changes in, 83; guides/manuals, 95n8, 101n81, 175, 180, 189n32; of faith, 107; Protestant, 259; sacrament of, xxiii–xxv, xxixn21, 81, 82, 84
 confessional directives, 180. *See also* confession: guides/manuals
configuratio, 55
 confraternities, 84; Brotherhood of the True Cross (*Vera Cruz*), 86; Precious Blood of Christ (*La Preciosa Sangre de Cristo*), 86
 Constantinople (Istanbul), 3, 13
contritio, 96n24. *See also* contrition
 contrition, xxiii–xxiv, 13, 35, 80–85, 87–89, 92, 99n58, 104, 125, 180, 185, 254; acts of, 124; Aquinas's theory of, 92, 96n24; as an affective state, 129n7; doctrine of, 138; drama of, 91, 92; expressions of, 91; power of, 96n25, 112; tears of, xvi, 126, 180, 211, 227n20, 254, 255
 conversion, religious, 252–253, 257–258; of Augustine, 95n7; of Spanish Moslems, 240; of St. Andrew's pagan captors, 183
 Cooper, Tracey-Anne, xvi, xvii, 175–192, 301–302
 Crusades, the, 25, 162–165 *passim*
 crying, xvii; and acting, 87–94; as a sign, xi–xii, 102–135, 243–244;

as an ocular experience, xiii, xxn17, 137, 145; as mystical technique, 172n36; as spiritual practice, 166; as visual rhetoric, 57; attitudes toward, 103; audience for, 230; before the Middle Ages, 166; boundary-crossing nature of, 160, 166; cathartic effects of, 170n11; communicative function of, 232; connective capacity of, 159; critical treatment of, 243, 244n4; gendered aspects of, xiii, 35–52, 169n8, 230; history of, 230; image of (Eve), 16–31 *passim*; images of (Berlin Crucifixion of Christ), 72n13; images of (eighth station of the cross), 80; in Berne's Virgin of the Lamentation, xiii; in Chrétien de Troyes's *Philomena*, 209, 213; in Geertgen tot sint Jans's *Man of Sorrows*, xiv; in Italian painting, 40, 53; in Konrad Fleck's *Flöre and Blanscheflûr*, 238–243; in Margery Kempe's *Book*, 25, 252, 254–255; in medieval German literature, 230–248; in medieval Islamic preaching, 102–135; in medieval Jewish literature, 156–172; in Orléans sculpture of Christ, xiii; in the *Book of Penance*, 198; in the late Anglo-Saxon world, 186; in three religious cultures, xvi; meanings of, xxi, 169n10; Muslim rules about, 103; of Abraham, 168; of Dauphine of Puimichel, 155n55; of Enite in von Aue's *Erec*, 233–235; of holy images, xiii–xiv; of Mauritius in *Mauritius von Craîn*, 236–238; of Sigeband in *Kudrun*, 235–236; of Umiliana de' Cerchi, 142, 144; performative nature of, 103; public and private, 230–248; public penance and, 80, 86; religious purposes of, 231; ritual of, 245n8, 248n34; terms for, 169n4; to control and manipulate, 35. *See also* weeping
 cult(s): *la Sainte Larme*, xi; of Mary Magdalene, 216, 228n29; of St. Dunstan, 188n21; of the biblical

Lazarus, 18; of the Passion, 38;
 of women's tears, 221
Curse of the Starving Class (Sam
 Shepherd), 90
 Cynewulf: *Christ II*, 185; *Elene*, 185;
Fates of the Apostles, 185; *Juli-
 ana*, 185; Cyprian, 83

D
 Damascus, 106
 Damianites (Poor Clares), 141
 Dauphine of Puimichel, 140, 146,
 147n2, 150n20
 David, 111, 113, 114, 127, 132n44
 Day of Atonement, 159
De institutione novitiorum (Hugh of St.
 Victor), xxii–xxiii
De Paenitentia (Tertullian), 83
De viris illustribus (Bartolomeo Fazio),
 53
 deception, xxii, xxv, 102, 129n12;
 rhetoric of, 211
 Derbes, Anne, 40
 Derrida, Jacques, xi, 168
 despair: exhibition of, 112; gesture of,
 16, 38, 47; in Chaucer's *Parson's
 Tale*, 255; in Langland's *Piers
 Plowman*, 255; of A. O., 249,
 257–260; of Christ, 184; of Enite,
 233; of Eve, 29; of Margery
 Kemp, 206n28, 249–260 passim;
 of Philomena, 225; of St. Andrew,
 184; transmission through print,
 xvii, 249–260 passim
*Devil's Account of the Next World,
 The*, 182
 devotion: affective, xi, xiv; as sincer-
 ity, 124, 136, 141; discourse of,
 xii; exercises of, xxiii; gender-
 inflected, 139; literature of, xvi;
 penitential, 81; physical, 143,
 146; religious, xxiii, 38, 42, 43,
 46, 86–89, 93, 95n9, 99n56,
 107, 153n44, 154n51, 181, 239;
 tears of, xiii, 65, 153n49, 163,
 169, 243, 254, 255
Diálogos (Francisco de Hollanda), 53
Dialogus miraculorum (Caesarius of
 Heisterbach), 140, 143, 144
 Diers, Michaela, 231
disciplinantes, 86
 Dominic, Saint, 152–153n44
 Dominicans, the, xiii, 25, 49n5, 138,
 251

Don des Larmes au Moyen Âge, Le
 (Piroska Nagy), 137, 138, 139
donum lacrimarum. See gift of tears
 Dunstan, Saint, 178, 186; *Vita Sancti
 Dunstani*, 178, 188n21

E

Ebersole, Gary, 157
 Edmund, King of England, 178, 179,
 181
 Edward the Confessor, 24
 Egeria (Spanish pilgrim), 26
 Egypt, 115, 156
 Eleazar, Rabbi, 166
Elene (Cynewulf), 185
 Eliezer, Rabbi, 157
 EMMA (Emotions in the Middle Ages),
 xxviii n3
 Emma of Normandy, 177, 181, 189n36
 emotion(s), xvi, xvii; and acting, 87–94;
 and convention, xvi, 180; and
 gender, 35–49, 127, 176–177,
 186, 232; and gesture/behavior,
 xxn18, xxi–xxii, 39, 42–43,
 197, 230; and pilgrims, 24–28,
 79; and rituals, xxv, 81, 86, 87,
 90, 123, 209, 213, 230, 231,
 243, 244n3, 245n8; and spiri-
 tual transformation, 83, 84; and
 weeping, xxi–xxvii, xxxn32, 35,
 53, 129n9, 175, 231, 232, 234,
 241, 242, 243, 249; and women,
 38, 46, 48–49, 127, 234, 254;
 and words/language, xxi, xxvi,
 xxviii n2, 59, 79; as a component
 of body/soul complex, xii; as a
 rhetorical device, 170n23; as an
 attribute of an artist's style, 29;
 as depicted in Italian painting,
 40–46; as depicted in sculpture
 at Saint-Lazare, 16–17, 24, 28,
 29; as depicted in the Madrid
Descent from the Cross, 53–70
 passim; as expressed in medieval
 chronicles, 47, 181; as legal
 evidence, 193–207; at healing
 shrines, 27–28; attitudes toward,
 37, 102, 103, 230; chemistry of,
 xxn19; communication of, xvii,
 82, 83, 243; contrast of, 64; cul-
 tural/social contexts of, 105–106,
 120, 126, 230, 231; expression
 of, xxii, xxv, xxvi, 38, 95n11,
 117–118, 159, 193, 209, 230,

- 232, 236, 237, 245n8; fear of God's punishments, 114; genuine, *xvi*, *xxii*, *xxiii*, 40, 81–83, 87, 90, 91, 118, 124, 127, 134n79, 180, 203, 232, 248n34; history of, *xv*, *xxviii*n3, 175, 230, 231; importance of, 241; in A. O's *Spiritual experiences, of sundry beleivers*, 257–260; in ancient art and literature, 39, 221; in Islam, 102–135; in Jewish philosophy, 171n34; in preaching, 115–118, 121; in the beholder/audience, 13, 24, 30–31, 39, 54, 58, 70, 89, 114, 196, 197, 200, 201, 203, 231; in the *Book of Margery Kempe*, 249–266; in the courtly world, 244; lack of expression, 46, 107, 162, 232, 243; medieval, *ix*, *xv*, *xviii*, *xxi*, *xxii*, 38, 39, 40, 47, 69, 83, 105, 175, 193; of animals, *xxviii*n6; of the artist, 29; public and private, 230–248; range of, 232, 234, 250; restraint of, 235; restrictions on excessive, 35, 37, 38, 47–48; sequence of, 250, 251, 254, 256, 257, 258, 259; study of, 38, 80, 88, 89, 90, 95n10, 127, 243; transformation through, 250, 251, 252, 255; understanding of, *xxvi*, 85, 232
- emotional communities, *xxvii*, 80
- emotional scripts, 95n8, 250
- emotionalism, *xv*, 16
- emotionality, 53, 106, 123, 126
- emotive devotion. *See* affective devotion
- empathy, *xi*xn17, 57, 87, 89, 91, 177; divine, 166; modeling, *xiv*; value of, 225
- Encomiast, the. *See* *Encomium Emmae Reginae*
- Encomium Emmae Reginae*, 177–181, 186, 188n16
- England, 175–186 *passim*, 190n38; civil law in, 193–203 *passim*; Danish conquest of, 175; late fourteenth-century, 193–203 *passim*, 249, 254; mid seven-teenth-century, 257–260. *See also* Anglo-Saxon England
- Enite. *See* *Erec*
- Enríquez de Ribera, Marquis Fadrique, 79, 86; *Viaje de Jerusalem*, 79
- Erec* (Hartmann von Aue), 233–235, 237
- Etzel / Attila. *See* *Nibelungenlied*
- Eutychios (Greek artist of *The Lamentation*), 5
- Eve: conflation with Mary Magdalene, 17; sculpture (Church of St.-Lazare at Autun), 16–31 *passim*, 17, 20
- Exeter Book, the, 176, 182, 185, 187n5, 188n14
- exomologesis, 83
- F**
- Fabri, Felix, 25–26, 32n31
- fadl* (virtue), 106, 107, 110
- Fates of the Apostles* (Cynewulf), 185
- Fazio, Bartolomeo, 53, 54, 70n1
- felyngys (feelings), 249
- Ferrer, Vincent, 85
- Fishbane, Eitan, 157, 167, 168
- flagellants, 86, 87
- Flanders, *xv*, 39, 53, 54, 71n5, 177; Lille, 62, 74nn31–32; painting, *xv*, 39, 53–54, 71n5
- Fleck, Konrad: *Flôre and Blanscheflûr*, 238–243
- Flôre and Blanscheflûr* (Konrad Fleck), 238–243
- Florence, *xxxn*35, 36, 37, 42, 43, 43, 45, 45, 46, 47, 50n10, 52n57, 71n5, 72n13, 140, 141, 142, 145, 150n2, 151n30
- fluid, 87. *See also* liquid
- Flynn, Maureen, *xxi*
- Fonrobert, Charlotte, 157
- Four Books of Sentences* (Peter Lombard), 84
- Fowler, Elizabeth, 201
- Frachet, Gerard: *Vitae Fratrum Ordinis Praedicatorum*, 138
- France, *xi*, *xv*, *xvii*, *xxxn*32, 41, 52n46, 137, 139, 148n14, 209, 211, 215, 216, 218, 220, 225, 226n5, 226nn1–2, 228n29, 238, 244nn1–2; Ashkenazi Jews in, 158
- Francis, Saint, *xiii*, 72n13, 97n41, 147n2, 154n54
- Franciscans, brotherhood of, *xiii*, 40, 45, 85–86, 87, 92, 99n58, 136, 140, 141, 142, 253
- Francisco de Hollanda, 53
- Frankfurt Stadel, 66, 68

Frenzen, Wilhelm, 231

G

Gabriel (archangel), 252, 262n24

Gaddi, Taddeo, 42–49 passim; *Christ's Entombment*, 42–43, 43, 48–49

Gamaliel, Rabbi, 157

Geertgen tot Sint Jans, *xiv*, *xiv*, *xv*

gender, *xv–xvii*, *xviii*5, *xxii*, *xxv*, 26–28, 41, 104, 127–128, 129n13, 132n52, 139, 142, 147, 169n8, 176–177, 186, 230, 241; female pilgrims (see women: pilgrims); female saints, 38, 41, 42, 45; male saints on crying, *xiii*, 35; studies of, 40, 157, 257; transgendering, *xii*, *xviii*5; women's roles in medieval Byzantium, 3–14 passim; women's roles in medieval Tuscany, 35–49 passim

Germanus, 178

Germany, 85; Ashkenazi Jews in, 158; medieval literature of, *xvii*, 138, 230–244 passim

Gertsman, Elina, *xi–xx*, *xxi*, 228n26, 302

gesture, *xv*, *xviii*, *xxi–xxv*, 5, 15n34, 16, 21, 24, 28, 35, 39–43, 45–48, 52n48, 56, 61, 72n13, 82, 91, 118, 119, 122, 123, 193, 197, 199, 203, 217, 224, 230–231, 245n14; violent, 7–11, 13, 47, 112

Gestures of Despair in Medieval and Early Renaissance Art (Moshe Barasch), 38–39

Ghent altarpiece, 66

Ghéon, Henri, 86

gift of tears, 106, 116–118, 136–140, 142–146, 148n14, 149n18, 155n55, 211, 227n19

Giottino (Giotto di Maestro Stefano): *Lamentation over Christ*, 35, 36, 40, 41–49, 44, 52n57, 72n13

Giotto. See Giottino

Giotto and the Language of Gesture (Moshe Barasch), 39–40

Gislebertus, 29, 30

Glastonbury Abbey, 178

God-fearingness, 103, 117, 120, 124, 125. See also *taqwa*

Golden Legend (Jacobus de Voragine), 38

Gothic art, 28–31

Grace Abounding (John Bunyan), 260
gratia lacrymarum, 136, 139. See also gift of tears

Gravdal, Kathryn, 209

Green, Richard Firth, 195

Gregory of Nazianzus, Saint, 6

Gregory of Nyssa, 35

Gregory the Great, 145, 148n13, 182–183, 184, 204n2; *Moralia in Job*, 17

gridatori (professional mourners), 48

grief, *xxii*, *xxviii*10, 8, 28, 79, 80, 83, 89, 96n24, 155n56, 168, 202, 213, 219, 222, 259; and the law, 46–49; as depicted in Italian painting, 41–46; attitudes toward, 7, 46; in late Anglo-Saxon England, 177, 185; in medieval German literature, 230, 232, 237; in medieval Jewish literature, 168, 171n30; in medieval Islamic preaching, 104, 112, 113, 127, 128; literature on, 38–41; meaning of, 35, 37, 38; restraint of, 7; signs of, 6, 11, 13, 16, 24, 26, 28, 35, 52n48, 112

Grundy, Lynne, 183

Guild of the Trinity (Lynn), 249

Gunther, King. See *Nibelungenlied*

H

hadith (saying of the Prophet Muhammad), 102–128 passim, 131n30, 131n39, 132n40, 132n52

Hagen. See *Nibelungenlied*, *Kudrun*
Haman, 158

Hansen, Leopold, 231

harafish (beggars), 106

Harald, King of Denmark, 177–178, 179

Hariri al-, 104, 114, 129n11

Hartmuot, King. See *Kudrun*

Haselhurst, R. S. T., *xxiv*, *xxix*n22

Hausherr, Irénée, 137

Heaven(s), *xii*, *xvi*, 65, 70, 74n34, 103, 110, 124–125, 137–139, 154n49, 156–160, 162–166, 168, 176, 179, 181–183, 190n38, 253, 260

Heavenly Ladder (John Climacus), 8

Hebrew Bible. See Old Testament

Hell, 105, 126, 182, 183, 190n38, 190n42

- Henry of Grosmont: *Book of Holy Medicines, The*, *xii*
 heroic epic, 235–236, 243
 heroic poetry, *xvii*, 175, 176–181, 186, 232
 Herwïc. *See Kudrun*
 Hetel. *See Kudrun*
 Hilde, Queen. *See Kudrun*
 holiness, 139; of Marie d'Oignies, 152n33; of tears, *xi*, *xvi*, 139, 142; of Umiliana, 142, 143
 Holy Land, the, 24–26, 28, 79, 252
 Holy Sepulchre (Church of), 25, 30, 252
 Holy Week procession, *xxvi*, 79, 86, 87, 89
Homelia de Maria Magdalena (Pseudo-Origen), *xii*
 homily, *xii*, 106, 107, 111, 117, 181, 185, 190n38, 190n42. *See also* sermon
 Huber, Emily, 255
Huge Scheppel (Elisabeth von Nassau-Saarbrücken), 243
 Hugh of St. Victor, *xxii*, *xxiii*
 Huizinga, Johan, *xxii*, *xxviii*n8
 Humbert de Baugé, 29–30
 Hurayfish al-, Shaykh Abu 'Abd Allah Shu'ayb (Egyptian Sufi preacher), 106–115, 126–127, 132n43, 133n54, 133n62; *al-Rawd al-fa'iq fi l-mawa'iz wa-l-raqa'iq* (The Splendid Garden of Hortatory Sermons and Edifying Tales), 106–107
 Hutson, Lorna, 196–197, 198, 203
- I**
 Ibn Abi Zar' (Maghrebi chronicler), 115–117, 119, 120
 Ibn al-'Attar (Syrian scholar-preacher), 118–119, 120, 125, 128, 134n89; *Adab al-khatib* (Manners of the Liturgical Preacher), 118
 Ibn al-Abbar, 117
 Ibn al-Adib al-Tujibi (Andalusi Muslim preacher), 117, 119, 120
 Ibn al-Hajj (Egyptian Maliki jurist), 106, 118–119, 125, 128, 134n82; *Madkhal al-shar' al-sharif* (Introduction to the Noble Law), 118
 Ibn al-Jawzi (preacher and Hanbali jurist), 114–115, 117–118, 120–121, 122, 127–128, 130n22, 134n75, 134n92
 Ibn Anas, Malik, 102
 Ibn Jubayr, 115, 117
 Ibn Munabbih, Wahb, 114
 Idel, Moshe, 157
ikhlās (sincerity), 103, 123, 124, 127, 135n108
 image: as model, *xiii*, *xiv*, *xvi*, *xxiv*, 24, 27, 28, 35, 38, 42, 48, 49, 56, 57, 58, 66, 70, 88, 90; pouring out of liquids, *xi*, *xii*, *xiii*, *xv*, 136; tears and, 1–75 passim; weeping, *xiii*–*xviii* passim, *xix*n17, 10, 35–49 passim, 53–70 passim, 82, 88, 89, 109, 110, 142, 157, 165–166, 172n43, 193, 198, 204n2, 216, 222, 231
imitatio Christi, 84, 92, 184
 imitation, 55, 64, 87, 143. *See also imitatio Christi*, *xi*
 India, 114
Invention of Suspicion, The (Lorna Hutson), 196
 Isaac, *xvi*; Binding of, 158–166 passim, 170n21, 170n24, 171n29, 171n32
 Islam, *xv*, *xvi*, 25, 102–128 passim, 131n30, 132n49, 133n54; in al-Andalus, 105; in Iberia, *xvi*, 104, 105; in the Maghreb, *xvi*, 104, 105; in the Mashreq, *xvi*, 104, 105; Ka'ba, 107; *khubtab shar'iyya* (liturgical sermons), 107; Last Judgment, 102, 103, 104, 108, 114, 128; Law of God, 122; pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina, 105; Ramadan, 107, 119; Shi'i, 104, 128, 129n13; Sunni, 102, 103, 105, 106, 126, 127, 128, 131n30
 Israel, 133n61, 156, 158, 159, 160, 162, 163, 168, 170n13, 171n28, 258
 Italy, 50n14, 85, 187n5; early medieval, 37; funereal monuments in, 40; Gothic art in, 59; hagiographies from, 148; laws of, 37, 46–48; medieval, 41, 139; painting in, *xv*, 40, 53, 62; trecento, *xv*, *xxxn*37, 40, 46, 152n36
 Itys. *See Philomena*
- J**
 Jacob, 8, 10, 111, 113

Jacobus, Laura, 40–41, 51n31; Massacre of the Innocents in medieval Italy, 41
 Jahiz al-, 114, 130n14, 130n21
 Jerome, Saint, 26, 180, 183; “Letter to Eustochim,” 183
 Jerusalem, 25, 26, 32n38, 79, 93, 156, 166; First and Second Temples, 156, 157, 166, 169nn5–6
 Johannes de Calibus, 38
 John Climacus, 8
 John of Damascus, 8
 John of Fécamp, 138
 John, Saint, *xv*, 6, 8, 11, 24, 41; John 11:39, 24; John 19:37, 62; Crucifixion scene (Klosterneuburg Altarpiece), 24; gospel on the Raising of Lazarus, 6
 Jones, Linda G., *xvi*, *xvii*, 102–135, 302
 Jones, Nancy, 212
 Jordan River, 25
 Joseph: and apocryphal preachers, 134n92; in the Qur’an, 104, 111, 113
 Joseph of Arimathea, 41, 62, 64
 Juan de Ávila, 88–89, 92–93, 98nn53–54, 99n55, 101nn85–86
 Juan del Encina, 79, 80, 86, 88, 94n2
 Judaism, *xv*, *xvi*, 166, 169n5, 170n10; Jerusalem Temples, 156, 157, 166, 169nn5–6; Satan in rabbinic culture, 160
 Judgment Day, 29, 102, 103, 104, 108, 128, 176, 182, 185, 192n58. *See also* Islam: Last Judgment
 Julian of Norwich: *Revelation of Love*, 255
 Juliana (Cynewulf), 185, 192n57
 Juliana of Nicomedia, Saint, 185
 Jung, Carl, 167–168

K
 Karant-Nunn, Susan, *xxi*
 Kemp, Wolfgang, 54
 Kempe, John, 249
 Kempe, Margery, *xvii*, *xxv*, *xxix*n31, 25–27, 193, 198–199, 202, 249–260 *passim*, 260n1, 263n32, 265n61; *Book of Margery Kempe*, *xvii*, 249–260 *passim*
khashya / *khashyat Allah* (reverential fear of God), 103, 106, 110, 111, 113, 126
khataba (Muslim oratory), 105, 117

khatib / *khutabāʿ* (Muslim orator-preacher/s), 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 122, 123
khawf al-waʿid (fear of punishment in the afterlife), 103, 107–109, 111, 113, 126
khutab sharʿiyya (liturgical sermons), 107
khutba (Islamic sermon), 107, 119, 120, 122–127, 134n89, 135n107
Kitab al-Muwattaʿa (Book of the Smoothed Path; Malik ibn Anas), 102
 Klage (poem), 232
 Kleiman, Irit Ruth, *xvii*, 208–229, 302
 Klindienst Joplin, Patricia, 209
 Klosterneuburg Altarpiece, 24
 Knight, Kimberley-Joy, *xvi*, *xvii*, 136–155, 302–303
 Koch, Elke, 231, 243
Königin Sibille (Elisabeth von Nassau-Saarbrücken), 243
 Kriemhilt. *See Nibelungenlied*
Kudrun, 235–236, 238
kwawf, 103

L

lachrymatories, 169n3
 lachrymose behavior, *xiii*, *xvii*, *xxv*, *xxvi*, *xxvii*, *xxviii*n5, 56, 82, 93, 99n57, 137, 141, 147, 193. *See also* crying and weeping
 Ladis, Andrew, 40
lagna, 3
 lamentation(s), *xv*, 5, 8, 13, 14, 95n7, 108, 129n13, 143, 153n44, 176, 177, 188n14, 197, 208, 219, 221, 222, 230, 234, 240
 Lamentation, the, 38, 42, 47, 51n35, 62, 74n34, 87; at Berne, *xiii*; Church of the Koimesis at Gračanica, 11, 14; *Lamentation over Christ* (Giotto), 35, 36, 41, 43, 44, 48; St. Clement at Ohrid, 3, 4, 5, 10
 Langland, William: *Piers Plowman*, *xvii*, 138, 193–207 *passim*, 255
 Lazarus, Saint, *xi*, *xv*, 6, 7, 7, 19, 20, 22, 23, 33n42, 138, 204n5; conflation with Lazarus, bishop of Aix-en-Provence, 18; original burial place at Bethany, 24–25; shrine of, 16–31 *passim*

Le Roy Ladurie, Emmanuel, *xxii*
 Leicher, Richard, *231*
Life of Muhammad, *105*
 Limors, Count. *See Erec*
 liquid, *xi, xiii, 3, 88, 93, 136*; rose-water, *xii*
Livre de seyntz medicines, *Le, xii*
Loher und Maller (Elisabeth von Nassau-Saarbrücken), *243*
 lollard, *249, 253, 254, 261*
 Lombard, Peter: *Four Books of Sentences*, *84*
 Lombardy, *37*
 Lot-Borodine, Myrrha, *137*
 Louvain: church Onze-Lieve-Vrouw-van-Ginderbuiten, *54, 66, 74n34*
 Lowlands, the, *139, 148n14. See also* Flanders, Netherlands
 Ludoph of Saxony: *Vita Christi*, *88*
 Lutgard of Awyieres, *146*
 Luther, *257*
 Lynn: *see* Bishop's Lynn

M

Madinat al-Zahra' (the Dazzling City), *122, 123*
 Madrid *Descent from the Cross* (Rogier van der Weyden/Robert Campin), *53–70 passim, 55, 65, 67, 69*
 Magdalene, Mary, *xii, xv, xxiii, xxiv, 8, 17, 18, 19, 21, 24, 26, 27, 28, 41–42, 62, 64, 66, 72n22, 109, 216, 218, 228n29*; sculpture (St. Lazarus shrine, Musée Rolin, Autun), *21, 22*; shrine in Vézelay, *24*
 Maguire, Henry, *3–15, 38–40, 152n36, 303*
Mai and Beafloer, *241, 243*
 Maimonides, Moses, *85*
majlis al-wa'z (Muslim hortatory sermon), *107*
 Mamluk Cairo, *106*
Man of Sorrows (Geertgen tot Sint Jans), *xiv, xiv, xv*
 Mantegna, *62*
maqama (assembly), *114*
Maqamat al-Hariri (Assemblies of al-Hariri), *104*
 Maqqari al-, *123–127*
Maria lactans, *66, 68*
 Maria, Empress, *6*
 Marie d'Oignies, *xiii, 140, 147n2, 150n20, 255, 256*
 Marquis Fadrique. *See* Enríquez de Ribera
 Martha, Saint, *6, 8, 18, 19, 21, 24, 26, 28, 41, 42*; sculpture (St. Lazarus shrine, Musée Rolin, Autun), *23*
 Martin (monk), *29*
 Mary: as co-redemptrix, *55–56*; as Mother of God, *xii, xiii, xviii5, 42, 55, 56, 57, 58, 64, 65, 66, 188, 195*; as Virgin, *xiii, 27, 41, 42, 80, 87, 89, 99n56, 109, 206n24, 244, 252*; Magdalene (*see* Magdalene, Mary); of Egypt, Saint, *42, 46*; the Younger, Saint, *6, 7*; the three Marys, *188n14*
 “Master of Flémalle”, *66. See also* Robert Campin
Mater dolorosa, *53, 198, 206n24*
Mauritius von Craûn, *236–238*
 Mawsili al-, Fath, *112*
 McEntire, Sandra, *138*
 McGuire, Brian Patrick, *138*
 Mecca, *105, 106, 115*
 Medina, *105, 107*
Meditations on the Life of Christ (Johannes de Calibus), *38*
 Meed, Lady. *See* Piers Plowman
 Meleager sarcophagus, *62*
 Melton, William, *253*
 Mendicancy, *141*
Metamorphoses (Ovid), *208–225 passim*
 Methley, Richard, *256*
 Michael (Greek artist of *The Lamentation*), *5*
 Michael VII, *6*
 Michelangelo, *53, 54*
 midrash, *xvi, 158, 162–166, 170n12, 170n23, 170n25, 171n30, 171nn32–34; Akedah, 160, 163, 165, 168; Esther Rabbah, 158; Genesis Rabbah, 166; Lamentations Rabbah, 166, 169n6, 170n13; Midrash vaYosha, 156–160, 162, 163, 165, 168; Song of Songs Rabbah, 159, 169n2; The Zohar, 166, 167*
 Mikva, Rachel S., *xvi, xvii, 156–172, 303*
 miracle(s), *xiii, 24, 27–28, 28, 33n42, 107, 115, 130n17, 242; karamat, 115, 130n17, 242*
 Monna Compiuta, *144*

- Monna Tessa dei Bardi, 42, 43, 46, 52n43
- Moralia in Job* (Gregory the Great), 17
- Mordechai, 158, 159
- Moses, 156, 158, 159, 160, 168
- Mount Grace Carthusian Priory, 256
- mourning, xxviii10, 56, 58, 61, 62, 83, 89, 101n82, 142, 144, 145, 147, 177, 178, 181, 184, 198, 202, 218, 219, 225, 227n12, 229n41, 253; Byzantine social rituals of, xv, 3–15 passim; for lost salvation (*penthos*), 137; in medieval German literature, 230, 233, 234, 242, 243n4; Islamic rituals of, 104, 126, 127; Tuscan practices of, 35, 37, 38, 45, 46, 48, 49, 51n28, 52n46, 52n56
- Muhammad (The Prophet), 102–128 passim, 132n40, 132n49; *Life of Muhammad*, 105; the “Last Prophet,” 113
- Mundhir b. Sa’id (Cordoban judge-preacher), 122–126
- Musa. *See* Abu ‘Imran Musa
- Musa, Abu ‘Imran (ascetic preacher), 116–117, 119, 120
- Musée Rolin (Autun), 17
- Muslama al-, ‘Ata’, 112
- mysticism, xiii, xxv, xxixn12, 37, 55, 103, 106, 115, 116, 121, 132n49, 133n61, 137, 138, 157, 166, 167, 168, 172n36, 172n43, 227, 256, 265n61, 265n64
- N
- Nagy, Piroska, xxn19, xxi, xxviii3, xxix, 137–139, 148n13, 261n1, 263n32; *Le Don des Larmes au Moyen Âge*, 137
- Nassau-Saarbrücken, Elisabeth von, 243
- Nelson, Judith Kay, 160, 167, 168
- Netherlands, the: art of, xvi, 53–70 passim, 55, 71n5, 73n31
- New Testament, 7, 8, 9; Gospels, 38; Luke, 64
- Nibelungenlied*, 232
- Nicodemus, 41, 57–58, 59, 62, 64, 66, 70, 71n5
- niyya / niyyat (purity of intentions), 123, 135n108
- nonconformists, 257
- Norton, John, 256
- Nowell Codex, 187n5
- O
- O’Sullivan, Katherine K., xvii, 193–207, 303
- Octateuch (the Vatican), 8
- Oglerius de Tridino, 58
- Old Testament, 8, 70; Eden, 16, 165; Exodus, 158; Ezra, 166; Genesis, 160–165; Isaiah, 156, 164, 165; Jeremiah, 58; Psalms, 156; Song at the Sea (Exodus 15), 156; Song of Songs, 138, 162; Zechariah, 62
- Order of Confession* (Pseudo-Jerome), 180
- ordines, 82
- Ortiz de Zúñiga, Don Diego, 85
- Ortwin. *See* Kudrun
- Os, Henk van, 40
- Oswald, 186
- Ovid: *Metamorphoses*, 208–225 passim
- P
- Padua, 37, 47, 142
- Pandion, King. *See* Philomena
- Panofsky, Erwin, 53
- Passion devotion. *See* under devotion
- Passion of Christ, the. *See* under Christ
- Patton, Kimberley Christine, 177
- Paul, Saint: Letter to the Philippians, 55
- Paula, 26
- Payen, Jean-Charles, 138
- penance, 83, 84–87, 96n14, 99n56, 155n54, 251, 258; manuals of, 197–198, 206n22; personal/private, 13, 81; public, xxiv, 16, 80, 81, 83–86; ritual of, xxiii, xxiv, 80, 179
- penthos*. *See* mourning
- Pepi family, 43, 52n57
- Pepwell, Henry, 257
- Perfetti, Lisa, xxi
- performance, xii, xvi, xxii, xxiii, xxvii, xxixn16, 3, 14, 16, 41, 48, 49, 81, 87, 89, 90, 91, 92, 95n8, 100n64, 100n67, 107, 118, 121, 129n13, 213, 227n12, 231, 232, 241, 243, 253, 262n24
- Peter the Deacon, 26
- Peter, Saint, xxiii, xxiv, 19, 28, 62, 72n22, 185
- Petrarch, 37, 46, 47
- Pharaoh, 156

Philagathos (Italian preacher), 7
 Philes, Manuel, 13–14
 Philip the Bold of Burgundy, 51n28
 Philomela. *See* *Philomena*
Philomena (Chrétien de Troyes),
 xvii, 208–225 *passim*, 226n1,
 226n5, 227n19, 227nn12–13,
 228nn29–30, 229n36, 229n38
Phoenix, The, 182, 190n40
 physiognomy, 62, 91, 93
 physiology, *xxi–xxii*, *xxvii*, 80, 85, 89,
 90, 91, 92, 129n9, 149n19
Pictures & Tears (James Elkins), 54
Piers Plowman (William Langland),
 xvii, 138, 193–207 *passim*, 255;
 Lady Meed, 193–195, 199–203
 Pilate, 64
 pilgrimage: and emotion, 24–28; spiri-
 tual, 204n5; to Autun, *xv*, 16–31
 passim; to healing shrines, 16,
 27–28, 73n25, 105, 180; to the
 Holy Land, 24–26, 28, 79, 252
piyyut / piyyutim (Jewish liturgical
 poem), 163, 164
Plancus beatae Mariae, 58–59
 Powell, Vavasor, 259
Prickynge of Love, The (Walter Hilton),
 xiii
 Procne / Progne. *See* *Philomena*
 Protestantism, 257
 Psalms, *xii*, 156, 161, 167, 169n3,
 169n6
 Pseudo-Albertus Magnus: *Women's*
 Secrets, *xii*
 Pseudo-Jerome: *Order of Confession*,
 180
 Pseudo-Origen: *Homelia de Maria*
 Magdalena, *xii*
 Purgatory, 37
 Puritans, the, 257

Q

Qarawiyyin, 116, 117
Qisas al-anbiya' (stories of the proph-
 ets), 105, 133n61
 Qur'an, 103, 104, 105, 108, 109, 110,
 111, 113, 114, 116, 120, 121,
 125, 126, 131n30, 131n38,
 132n43, 134n75

R

rabba (terror), 103
 Ramadan, 107, 119
 Ramsey Abbey, 178

rape, 208–215 *passim*, 227n12,
 228nn29–30, 229n37, 229n41,
 238
 Raphael, 62
Ravishing Maidens (Kathryn Gravidal),
 209
 reception, *xv*, 54, 57, 80, 81, 136, 139,
 166, 325; paradox of, 66–70
 passim
 Reddy, William, *xxi*, *xxii*, *xxix*n11
 Reformation, the, 95n12, 257
 relic(s), *xi–xii*, 17–20, 24–25, 27, 30,
 33n42, 140, 150n20, 151n29,
 155n55
 Remigius, Saint, 41, 45
reportationes, *xxvi*
Revelation of Love (Julian), 255
 Richard of St. Vanne, 26
 ritual, *xii*, *xvi*, *xxiii*, *xxvi*, *xxix*-
 nn15–16, *xxix*n27, 3, 39, 94,
 209, 213, 230–232, 243–244,
 244n3, 245n8, 248n34; and the-
 atre, 80, 86, 94; confession and
 penance, *xxiii*, *xxiv*, *xxv*, 79–87,
 89, 91–92, 97n26, 127, 179–
 180, 181; daily, 14; funerary, 37,
 38, 40–42, 47, 50n14, 176, 177,
 186, 188n14; in medieval Islam,
 103–105, 109, 113, 122–127;
 in medieval Judaism, 157, 167,
 169n7, 171n28; mourning, *xv*,
 5, 6, 13, 14, 46, 127, 219, 224,
 227n12; pagan, 218–219, 231;
 Passion of Christ, 80 (see also
 Christ: Passion of); rogation
 ceremonies, 124, 125
 rogation ceremonies: Christian, 84, 86;
 Muslim, 103, 122–127
 Rogers, John (Dublin preacher), 259
 Rolland, Romain, 160
 Rolle, Richard, 256
 Romanesque art, *xv*, 16–31 *passim*; and
 Gothic art, 28–31
 Romans, 157
 Rosenwein, Barbara H., *xvii*, *xxi*, *xxvi*,
 xxvii, 249–266, 303
 Rüedegêr. *See* *Nibelungenlied*
 Ruiz, Juan, *xxiii–xxvi*

S

Saint-Lazare (Autun): cathedral, 16–24;
 Eve, 16–31 *passim*, 17, 20;
 shrine, 16–31 *passim*, 19, 20,
 22, 23

- Sainte Larme*, *xi*, 150n20
 Sakhawi al-, Muhammad (Egyptian hadith scholar), 114–115
Salat al-istisqa' (Islamic rogation ceremony), 103, 122–123, 126
 Salthows, 256
 San Remigio, Church of (Florence), 36, 41, 45, 45, 52n57
 sanctity, *xi*, *xv*, 107, 110, 139, 146
 Santa Croce, 140; church of, 42, 43, 45
 Scherer, Wilhelm, 231
 Schmitt, Jean-Claude, *xxi*, *xxii*–*xxiii*
 Scholastic period, 83, 96n24
 Seidel, Linda, 17, 21, 25, 28, 33n52
 self-mortification, 80, 85–87
 sensory, the, *xviii*, 85, 92, 99n57
 sermon(s), *xii*, *xxiii*, *xxix*n25, 5, 49n5, 52n46, 85, 89, 146, 213, 253, 256, 258, 266n76; of Arabic oratory, 102–128 *passim*, 133n54, 134n75; of Juan de Ávila, 88; of Muhammad, 102–103; of St. Bernard of Clairvaux, 138; recorded (*reportationes*), *xxvi*
 Seville, 79–80, 85, 86, 88, 89, 92, 98n53, 99n57; Convent of San Agustín, 79–80; *Cruz del Campo*, 79
 shame, 17, 81, 111, 127, 177, 179, 185, 219, 242, 250, 253, 255
 Shepherd, Sam, 90
 Shu'ayb (pre-Islamic Arab prophet), 112–113, 133n54
 Siegfried. *See* *Nibelungenlied*
 Siena, *xxix*, 37, 38, 47, 49n7
 Sigeband, King. *See* *Kudrun*
 Signorelli, 62
 sincerity, *xv*, *xvi*, *xxi*–*xxvii* *passim*, *xxix*n15–16, 58, 81, 82, 84, 90, 93, 136, 141, 143, 180, 197, 198, 199, 202, 203, 206n22, 238–243 *passim*; Sufi ideal of (*ikhlās*), 103, 104, 118, 122, 123, 124, 127, 128
 sorrow, 13, 25, 27, 35, 38, 39, 42, 46, 48, 49, 58, 79, 80–81, 82, 83–84, 88, 89, 92, 96n24, 108, 113, 182–184, 197–199, 202, 212, 216, 220, 221, 225, 232, 236, 239–240, 242, 243, 244n4, 252, 253, 254–255, 257, 259
 Smail, Daniel Lord, *xxi*
 Southwick, Guy von: typology of tears, 64
 Spain: central Middle Ages, 87; devotional culture in, 88; early modern, *xxv*; late medieval, *xvi*, 80, 82, 84, 85, 88, 89, 93, 94n4, 97n31; Muslim, *xvi*; processions in, *xxvi*, *xxix*n36, 86, 87
 Spenser, Edmund, 257
 Spiegel, Shalom, 162–163
Spiritual experiences (A. O.), 258, 259, 266n76
 Sri Lanka, 114, 132n44
Stabat mater, 58
 Stanislavsky, Constantin, 80, 82, 91–93, 100n70, 100nn72–74; *An Actor Prepares*, 91
 Stations of the Cross, 79–80, 94n6, 252
Statuto del Donnaio, 47–48
 Stearns, Carol, *xxi*
 Stearns, Peter, *xxi*
 Steinhoff, Judith, *xv*, *xvii*, 35–52, 304
 Stephen (bishop), 29; Etienne de Baugé, 29; Etienne II, 29, 30
Stimulus amoris (*Prickynge of Love*), *xiii*
 Strassburg, Gottfried von, 232
 Stratton, John, 177
Summa Theologica (Aquinas), 195
 sumptuary statutes, 35, 38, 48, 49; in Florence and Siena, 37, 46–48; *Statuto del Donnaio*, 47
sunna (practices of Muhammad), 123, 125, 126, 134n89
 Swein Forkbeard, King of Denmark, 178
 Swift, Christopher, *xvi*, *xvii*, 79–101, 304
 Symeon the New Theologian: Catechetical Discourses, 142
 Symphorien, Saint, 27
- ## T
- taqwa* (fear of God), 103, 111, 126–127, 128n3
 tears, *xi*, *xiii*; and blindness (*see* weeping; and blindness); and Eastern Christianity, 148n5; and gender, *xv*, *xvii*, 26, 139, 140, 148n14, 149n19, 228n26; and lachrymose prayer, *xxviii*n5, 137, 138, 139–140, 169n6; and ritual, *xxix*n15, 8, 103; and salvation, 70; and sincerity, *xv*, *xvi*, *xxii*, *xxiii*, *xxiv*–*xxvi*, *xxix*n16, 90, 104, 106; and Western Christianity, 138; as a link between inner and outer affect, 88; as a pathway

- to the divine, *xvi*, *xxv*, *xxix*, *xxixn12*; as a sign of contrition, *xxiii–xxv*, 13, 82–83, 85, 137; as a sign of piety, 104, 136, 139; as an agent of procreation, *xiii*; as an empathetic response of listeners, 88, 91; as an expression of suffering, 56; as an image, *xiii*, *xiv–xv*, *xvi*, 56, 172n43; as cleansing, 86; as forensic evidence, *xvii*, 193–203 *passim*, 204n2, 206n24; ascetics' and mystics' attitudes toward, 103, 105, 106–115, 129n7; biological/physiological potency of, *xii*, *xxi–xxii*, 89–90; in Antiquity, 172n42. 208–225 *passim*; in confession and penance, 79, 80, 81, 88, 93, 94, 137, 139; in Geertgen tot sint Jans's *Man of Sorrows*, *xiv*; in Juan del Encina's *La Trivagia*, 79; in late Anglo-Saxon England, 175–186 *passim*, 188n14; in medieval French literature, 208–225 *passim*, 227nn12–16; in medieval German literature, 230–244 *passim*, 244n4, 245n8, 245nn13–14, 248n34; in medieval Islamic cultures, 102–128 *passim*, 132n44, 134n75; in medieval Jewish literature, 156–168 *passim*, 170n10, 170nn22–23, 171n33, 172n37; in *Planctus beatae Mariae*, 58; in Rogier van der Weyden's *Entombment of Christ*, 71n5; in Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, 101n82; in the *Entombment* triptych of Robert Campin, 56, 57, 60, 61, 72n14; in the Madrid *Descent from the Cross*, 55, 56, 57, 59, 64, 70; lack/loss of, 68, 70, 72n15, 72n22, 140, 143, 145, 147, 245n12; *lacrimae compassionis*, *xii*, 66, 70; *lacrimae compunctionis*, *xii*, 65, 66; *lacrimae contemplationis*, *xii*; *lacrimae devotionis*, 65; *lacrimae peregrinationis*, *xii*; *lacrimae poenitentiae*, 70, 72n22; literature on, 137–139; meaning of, *xiii*, *xv–xvii*, *xxiii*, *xxvii*, *xxviii*n5, 35, 37, 57, 64–65, 80, 103, 137–138, 263n32; of A. O. (*Spiritual experiences*, 249, 257–260 *passim*; of Augustine, 95n7; of Dauphine of Puimichel, 140, 146, 147n2, 150n20; of devotion, 65, 139, 153n49; of Margery Kempe, 249–260 *passim*, 263n32; of Marie d'Oignies, *xiii*; of Mary, *xii*; of Mary Magdalene, 41, 66, *xii*; of Nicodemus, 66; of pilgrims, 25–27; of St. Bernard, *xiii*; of St. Francis, *xiii*, 97n41; of the phoenix, 165; of the Virgin, *xii*; of Umiliana de'Cerchi, 140–147; portrayal of, 39, 53–57, 61, 64, 70, 169n10; regulation of, 47–48; *represented* and *shed*, 54, 70, 72nn13–14; rhetoric of, 53–70 *passim*; shed for human loss, 138; transformative power of, 156–168; types of, *xii*, 64, 65, 66, 70, 72n22, 73n28, 138, 148nn5–6; viewed as “true” or “excessive,” 35, 90, 91, 93. *See also* gift of tears
- Tentler, Thomas N., *xxiv*
- Tereus. *See Philomena*
- Tertullian, *xi*, 83, 96n21; *De Paenitentia*, 83
- theater, 90, 93; *Hamlet*, 93, 101n82
- theatricality, 80–81, 85, 87, 90–91, 92, 93, 100n70, 118, 231, 237
- Theodore of Stoudios, 6
- Theophylaktos of Bulgaria, 6
- Thomas à Kempis, *xi*, 137
- Throne of Mercy, the, 66
- Thürlemann, Felix, *xv*, *xvi*, *xvii*, 53–75, 304
- Tomkins, Silvan, 89–90
- Torah, 158, 159, 170n10
- Tovi the Proud, 181
- Trecento, the, *xv*, 35–49 *passim*, 51n35, 74n34, 152n36
- Trinité, La (Benedictine Abbey), *xi*
- Tristan* (Gottfried von Strassburg), 231–232
- Trivagia*, La (Juan del Encina), 79, 80, 86, 88, 94n2
- Troyes, Chretien de, *xvii*, 52n46, 208–225, 225–226n1, 226n3
- Turtushi al- (Andalusi scholar), 106
- Tuscany, 35–49 *passim*
- Tusi al-, Abu l-Nasr al-Sarraj, 103
- U
- 'ulama' (Islamic religious and legal scholars), 115, 120, 122

- Ulf, 179
 Umiliana de' Cerchi, 136–137, 140–147, 150n22, 151n28, 153n44, 153n49; *vitium oculorum*, 144–147, 153n49
 Ursus, archdeacon of Reims, 27, 33n42
- V**
 van der Weyden, Rogier, 53, 55, 56, 66, 70n2, 71n5, 74n31
 Vendôme, *xi*, *xii*, 150n20
 Venice, 25
 Vercelli Codex / Book, 183, 185, 187n5, 189n34, 190n37, 192n58
 Verdi Webster, Susan, *xxvi*, *xxxn*36
 Veronica, Saint, 66
Via Crucis, 79–80, 86
Viaje de Jerusalem (Enríquez de Ribera), 79
 Vicaire, Marie-Humbert, 138
 Villani, Giovanni, 47
 Virgin Mary, the, *xii*, *xiii*, *xv*, 5, 11, 13, 14, 21, 27, 32n38, 41, 42, 80, 87, 89, 99n56, 109, 206n24, 244; Church of, 8
 vision, *xi*, *xiii*, 103; beatific, 136; dream, 193, 215, 217; loss of, 144 (*see also* weeping; and blindness); mystical, 166–168, 250–252, 265n64; Sufi theological, 111; transformed, 168; worldly, 144–146
 visionary experience, *xi*
Vita (St. Mary the Younger), 7
Vita Christi (Ludolph of Saxony), 88
Vita Oswaldi, 178
Vita Sancti Dunstani, 178, 188n21
vitium oculorum, 144–147
 Vito de Cortona, 136, 140–147, 147n1, 150n23, 151n24, 151nn28–30, 152n31, 152n44, 153n47, 153nn44–45, 154nn50–53
 Voragine, Jacobus de, 38
- W**
wa'z (Muslim hortatory preaching), 107
 Wagner, Karen, 81, 82
 Walker, Henry, 258
Waltham Chronicle, The, 181
Wanderer, The, 176, 177, 187n5, 187n7
 wanhope, 255. *See also* despair
 Wate. *See* Kudrun
 Watkins, Owen C., 258
Wedding at Cana (Kariye Camii), 3, 4
 weeping; and blindness, *xi*, 136–137, 142–146, 154n54, 155n56; and despair, 249–260 *passim*, 262n23, 263n32; and holy women, 139–140, 149n19; and bonding, *xxxn*40; and politics, 179; and sincerity, *xxi*–*xxvii* *passim*, *xxviii*n5, *xxviii*nn9–10, *xxix*n11; as a gendered social role, 35–49 *passim*, 142; as communication, *xxxn*32; as forensic evidence, 193–203 *passim*, 204n2, 206n24; as religious ritual, *xxixnn*15–16, *xxix*n21; images in medieval art, 53–70 *passim*; 72n13, 89; in late Anglo-Saxon England, 175–186 *passim*, 188n14; in late medieval Spain, 79–80, 82, 84, 85, 87, 89, 91, 92, 94n6, 95nn7–8; in medieval Byzantium, 6–8; in medieval discourse, *xi*–*xviii* *passim*; in medieval French literature, 208–225 *passim*; in medieval German literature, 230–244 *passim*; in medieval Islamic preaching, 102–128 *passim*, 129n9, 132n52; in medieval Jewish literature, 156–168 *passim*, 169n4, 169n8, 170n11, 172n40; in the pagan world, 177, 208–225 *passim*; mystical, *xxix*n12, 37, 103, 115, 121, 137, 138, 157, 166, 172n36, 172n43, 227n12; of Margery Kempe, *xxix*n31, 25, 206n28, 206n29, 250–259 *passim*, 263n32; of St. Francis, 154n54; of Umiliana de' Cerchi, 140–147 *passim*, 153n44; terms for, 169n4
 Weinand, Heinz Gerd, 138, 231
 Werckmeister, Otto Karl, 16–17
 Westminster, 193, 194, 195, 201, 258, 266n76
 Wife of Bath's Tale (Chaucer), 198
Wilhelm von Österreich (Johann von Würzburg), 243
 William of Thierry, 35

women, 3–14 *passim*, 14n1, 35–49
passim, 136–147 *passim*, 147n2,
 149n19, 163, 175, 176, 177,
 181, 184, 186, 188n14, 198,
 220–221, 224, 225, 228n26,
 236; as prone to weep, xxv;
 humoral characteristic of, xii–
 xiii; pilgrims, xv, 26–28; pres-
 ence at *The Lamentation*, 38;
 saints, 38, 41, 42, 45

Women's Secrets (Pseudo-Albertus
 Magnus), xii
 Würzburg, Johann von: *Wilhelm von*
Österreich, 243
 Wynkyn de Worde, 257

Z

Zappert, Georg, 231
 Zigabenos, Euthymios, 6
 Zons, Franz Bernhard, 231